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ALLAHABAD

UMESHAMISHRA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

VOL. III (PARTS 6, 7, 8 & 9)

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SECTION VI

HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

SOCIAL WORLD IN THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

By A. D. PUSALKER*

A veritable encyclopaedia of Indian culture, the *Mahābhārata* rightly declares: *Yadihāsti tadanyatra yannehāsti na tatkvacit*[1] (whatever is included here may be found elsewhere; but what is not to be found here, cannot be got anywhere else). It is a thesaurus of ancient myths, tales, legends, of philosophy, religion, social ideas, manners and customs, of social and political institutions, of old beliefs and traditions, etc. In re-creating the social world from the data furnished by the *Mahābhārata,* we have clearly to distinguish between the different ages represented by the epic, namely the period of the actual Bhārata war and that of the composition of the epic. The first period or the date of the Bhārata war may roughly be taken to be 1000 B.C., while the second period or the date of the *Mahābhārata* may be placed between the third century B.C. and the second century A.D.

Among the peculiar social customs of the age of the Bhārata war or of still earlier period revealed in the *Mahābhārata,* special mention may be made of promiscuity, polyandry and *niyoga* or levirate. Though some passages in the epic suggest the existence of promiscuity at an early period, it is very difficult to say whether it actually existed in some sections of the society or whether it is a mere possibility intellectually conceived by the poet. The tradition of polyandry, however, appears to have been so firmly rooted, at least in a section of the society, that the poet could not ignore it. The marriage of Draupadī was an essential part of the story and the poet tries to justify it in several ways. His attempts to explain it away show that though in vogue in ancient times polyandry had fallen into disuse during the period of the epic . It is interesting to observe that the practice of several brothers marrying one female is still prevalent to some extent among certain tribes in Kashmir, Tibet and Nilgiris.[2] The custom of *niyoga* or levirate whereby a

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1. *Mbh.* (*Mahābhārata*, Critical Edition), I. 56. 33.

2. Cf. Altekar, *Position of Women, Banaras,* 1956, p. 114; Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India,* p. 30, n. 1.

childless widow approached her deceased husband's brother for issue appears to have been fairly common in ancient India as elsewhere in the ancient world. The *Mahābhārata* is replete with instances, but it appears that the system was gradually passing into desuetude, and several restrictions were being placed for its operation.

While passing from the social conditions of the period of the Bhārata war to those of the age of the *Mahābhārata,* we find that they present a social world with practically the same features of castes and orders, family life, forms of marriage, position of women, etc., as we get from other contemporary sources. Instead of repeating the information, an attempt is made here to focuss attention to the special aspects as delineated in the *Mahābhārata.*

Though the four primary castes and mixed castes were known, social divisions had not yet become so rigid as in later times. In refreshing contrast to the passages in which the *Mahābhārata* records the general view that the Brāhmaṇa is so by birth alone and he deserves respect from all, there are others which revolt against the caste-system dependent on birth alone and severely criticize it. These passages challenge the extravagant Brahmanical pretensions and supersitious theories. Great emphasis is laid on the moral worth of a man. "That Śūdra who is always struggling for self-restraint, truthfulness, and *dharma* is a Brāhmaṇa in my opinion," says the author of the *Mahābhārata,* "for a Brāhmaṇa is so by his character."[3] Lord Kṛṣṇa has also declared that he created the four castes having regard to the distribution of qualities and actions.[4] It appears that the regulations with regard to occupations of different castes were not strictly followed, and different castes could follow any vocations with impunity.

In education, the Gurukula system appears to have been in vogue. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of numerous hermitages (*āśramas*). famous among them being the Naimiṣa under Kulapati Śaunaka, and one of Kaṇva on the Mālinī. Pupils from distant parts of the country gathered for instructions at these hermitages, which consisted of several departments including divinity, political science and economics, military science, astronomy, botany, transport and conveyances. There are several references which also indicate that

3. *Mbh.,* III. 206. 12.
4. *Mbh.,* VI. 26. 13 (=*Bhagavadgītā,* IV. 13).

in addition to academic subjects and those already mentioned, instruction was given in archery, medicine, astrology, engineering, agriculture, arts and crafts, etc. The *Mahābhārata* enjoins that persons of all the four castes should listen to discourses on the Vedas.[5] Due attention was paid to the education of women who were able to reach high level of academic perfection. They were taught such arts as dancing, singing, and instrumental music.

Though the usual eight forms of marriage are enumerated, the *Mahābhārata* speaks of the Brāhma, Kṣātra, Gāndharva, Āsura, and Rākṣasa as being current, the last two being regarded as sinful.[6] The Brāhma perhaps included the Daiva and Ārṣa of the Sūtra times. In the Kṣātra, which was prescribed for both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, it appears that the bride was offered to one who successfully accomplished certain feat of skill and valour prescribed by the father of the bride.

Though marriages in the same caste were praised, there were no restrictions with regard to intercaste marriages in the anuloma order or hypergamy, i.e. where a male of the higher caste married a female of the lower one. The progeny of such marriages was held to belong to the caste of the father, i.e. the higher caste. The pratiloma marriages, i.e. of the females of a higher caste with males of the lower one, were condemned and looked down as reprehensible.

In the *Mahābhārata* we witness the first germs of the tendency whereby the Sanyāsa was reserved only for the three higher castes and later for the Brāhmaṇas alone. Four kinds of ascetics, namely Kuṭīcaka, Bahūdaka, Haṁsa and Paramahaṁsa, are mentioned, of which each succeeding one was superior to the one preceding.[7] The *Mahābhārata* propounds conflicting views about the eligibility of a Śūdra to embrace Sanyāsa.[8]

Despite some passages in disparagement of women in general, one of the special features of the epic may be said to be its liberal attitude towards women. Women were regarded as objects of

5. *Mbh.*, XII. 314, 45-46.
6. *Mbh.*, I. 67. 8—12.
7. Mbh., XIII. 129. 29.
8. *Mbh.*, XII. 63. 12—14; XV. 33. 32.

great veneration, symbols of supreme auspiciousness, virtue incarnate, lights of the family, beauty and wealth of the home, and objects of special care and attention. They were accorded a place of honour, enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom, and mixed freely at socio-religious gatherings. No special restrictions or disabilities were attached to them only on account of their sex. They enjoyed equal rights with men in all sphere, and wielded a great deal of influence in social and political matters.

The birth of a female child was not always looked upon as a source of misery, but goddess of fortune was held to reside in an unmarried daughter. There were no child marriages in that period. The epic heroines received liberal education, and had some voice in the choice of their spouses. High ideals of conjugal life were placed before the society, and the wife was spoken as the best friend of man.[9]

Though remarriages in general were condemned, virgin widow was allowed to remarry. Her sons were held to be fully entitled to offer oblations both to gods and manes.[10] That the widows were treated fairly would appear from the fact that the widowed daughters-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra are described as having the hair on the head decently arranged.[11] The discouragement of the remarriage of widows resulted in the growth of the custom of Satī. In the *Mahābhārata*, with the exceptions of Mādrī, four wives of Vasudeva and five of Kṛṣṇa there are no other instances of Satī. After the Bhārata war not a single widow is said to have burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. The *Mahābhārata* is also unaware of any of the Yādava widows having become Satīs, whereas the later *Padma Purāṇa* represents all of them as burning themselves, which indicated that by the time the *Padma Purāṇa* received its present shape, the custom of Satī was coming into vogue.[12] In the *Mahābhārata* times, it was confined to the Kṣatriya caste alone.

Some later interpolations in the *Mahābhārata* suggest that some kind of *purdah* was observed in a few royal families, which was dispensed with on certain specified occasions. The data in the

9. *Mbh.*, I. 68. 40.

10. *Mbh.*, XIII, App. I, No. 7A, ll. 63–65 (=Kumbhakonam, XIII. 55. 7).

11. *Mbh.*, XV. 27. 16.

12. Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

epic go against *purdah* which was introduced later into India among the Kṣatriyas due to foreign influence.

We do not get details about urban life, but some interesting features about one aspect of rural life are supplied by the description of cowherds. Duryodhana went to inspect his herd of cattle in Dvaitavana and marked them by signs, the occasion being celebrated by sports, singing, and dance by the cowherds.[13] The king of the Matsya enjoyed a royal picnic in the countryside on the occasion of "cattle-branding" when the ears of the entire cattle were marked for the year. Cattle-lifting seems to have been fairly common during the epic period. Cowboys and herdsmen were paid in kind for tending the cattle in proportion to the cattle tended by each. The breeding and tending of cattle had developed almost into a science in the days of the *Mahābhārata*.

From the references to Yudhiṣṭhira feeding Brāhmaṇas with various delicacies prepared, among other things, from the flesh of boar and deer, it would appear that meat-eating was current among all classes during the period of the Bhārata war. Later on, however, owing to the influence of ahiṁsā as preached by Buddhism, Jainism, and Bhāgavatism, flesh-eating was prohibited for the Brāhmaṇas during the period of the *Mahābhārata* and thereafter. One interesting particular supplied by the epic is that the food of the rich consisted of flesh, that of the middle class of milk and its products, and that of the poor of oil preparations.[14] The Kṣatriyas in the epic period were noted for their addiction to liquor. But the Brāhmaṇas were strictly forbidden to drink liquor, and later on drinking was regarded as one of the principal five sins.

Cremation seems to have been the usual method of the disposal of the dead in the epic age. It appears, however, that the bodies of these dead on the battlefield were not duly disposed of but were left there uncared for at the mercy of vultures and jackals. The death of a person in war, says the *Mahābhārata*, is not to be mourned, nor are any funeral oblations to be offered to him, nor is a purificatory bath to be taken on his account. He is glorified in the heavens.[15]

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13. Cf. *Mbh.*, III. 229. 1–13.
14. *Mbh.*, V. 34. 47.
15. *Mbh.*, XII. 99. 43-44.

There is a frequent mention of Dāsas and Dāsīs (male and female slaves) in the *Mahābhārata*. In addition to prisoners of war, those who staked their freedom in the game of dice were treated as Dāsas if they lost the game. As he had no money or other possessions, the slave paid his tax in manual labour. The ethical portions of the epic allow a slave to study, and state that he may get a reward for practising religious austerities. A learned slave is depicted as giving moral instruction.

NOTES ON AŚOKA'S SEVENTH AND NINTH ROCK EDICTS

By M. A. MEHENDALE*

1. *Rock-edict VII*

The Dhauli version of this edict reads as follows:

(A) *Devānāṁpiye Piyadasī lājā savata ichati savapāsaṁḍā vasevū ti* /

(B) *save hi te sayamaṁ bhāvasudhī ca ichaṁti* /

(C) *munisā ca ucāvucachaṁdā ucāvuca lāgā* /

(D) *te savaṁ va ekadesaṁ va kachaṁti* /

(E) *vipule pi cā dāne asa nathi sayame bhāvasudhī ca*[1] *nīce bāḍhaṁ* /

Hultzsch translates the edict as follows:

(A) King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

In the above rendering, Hultzsch sees opposition between *vipule dāne* on the one hand and *sayame* and *bhābasudhī* on the other. He is therefore required to add the word 'but' in the section E to bring out the contrast. But this interpretation does not satisfactorily bring out the significance of the last two words *nīce bāḍhaṁ* 'very mean.' It is therefore suggested that *nathi* (=*nāsti*) should be construed with all the three, *dāne, sayame* and *bhāvasudhī*. The

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1. All versions, except those at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, add here two more virtues *kataṁñatā* and *daḍha-bhatitā* (Girnar version) rendered as 'gratitude' and 'firm devotion' by Hultzsch.

passage may then be translated as: 'And if one does not practise even great liberality, and (also) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, (he) is very mean.'

Aśoka has said at the beginning of the edict that he desires followers of all sects to practise self-control (*sayama*) and purity of mind (*bhāvasudhī*). But since this is not possible for all people, it is likely that some practise only a few of the recommended virtues but not the others. It seems that according to Aśoka, liberality is a virtue which can be easily practised by all. If one practises only a few virtues and not all, it is bad enough. But if one does not practise even liberality, and also does not have self-control and purity of mind, it is absolutely bad (*nīce bāḍham*). Practising great liberality is thus a beginning of attaining other virtues like self-control and purity of mind. It is only when we understand the edict in this way that the significance of *nīce bāḍham* is clearly brought out.

2. *Rock-edict IX* (*note* 1)

The ninth rock-edict of Aśoka ends as follows in the Girnar version:

(K) .... *idaṁ kacaṁ idaṁ sādha* (read *sādhu*) *iti, iminā saka svagaṁ ārādhetu iti* /

(L) *ki ca iminā katavyataraṁ yathā svagāradhī* /

This has been translated by Hultzsch as follows:

(K) .... 'This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'

(L) And what is more desirable than this, viz. the attainment of heaven.

In what precedes the above sections in this edict, Aśoka recommends to his people the practice of morality (*dhaṁma-maṅgala*) in place of the other ordinary practices which they were accustomed to follow. He says that many of the latter practices are vulgar and useless. They bear little fruit. But the practice of morality bears much fruit. Even heaven can be obtained by the practice of morality. Since what is being emphasized all along in the edict is the practice of morality which can ultimately lead to heaven, it is better to translate the last line *ki ca iminā katavyataraṁ yathā sva-*

gāradhī as "And what else than this (viz. the practice of morality) deserves more to be done so that (*yathā*) it leads to the attainment of heaven. The pronominal forms *idaṁ* and *iminā* in section 'K' refer to the practice of morality. It is therefore better to take *iminā* in section 'L' also to refer to the practice of morality than to the attainment of heaven as done by Hultzsch. Moreover, *katavyataraṁ* can hardly mean 'more desirable.'[2]

3. *Rock-edict IX* (*note* 2)

Towards the end of the ninth rock-edict, from section I onwards, the Kālsī, the Shāhbāzgarhī, the Mānsehrā, and the Yerraguḍi versions differ from the other versions of the edict. It appears that the text in the former four versions is more in keeping with what precedes in this edict. Here. in this edict, Aśoka wants to point out to his subjects the difference between the ordinary ceremonies that are performed on such occasions as marriage, child-birth etc., and the religious practices (*dhaṁma-maṅgala*) which the king recommends to them. The Kālsī version reads as follows :

(I) *e hi itale magale saṁsayikye se*/

(J) *siyā va taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭeyā ṣiyā punā no* /

(K) *hidalokike ceva se*/

(L) *iyaṁ punā dhaṁmamagale akālikye* /

(M) *haṁce pi taṁ aṭhaṁ no niṭeti* (read *nivaṭeti*) *hida aṭhaṁ,*[3] *palata anaṁtaṁ punā pavasati* (read *pasavati*) /

(N) *haṁce punā taṁ aṭhaṁ nivateti hidā, tato ubhayesaṁ ladhe hoti, hida cā se aṭhe palata cā anaṁtaṁ punā pasavati tenā dhaṁmamagalenā* /

Hultzsch translates the above sections as follows:

(I) For other ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

2. Only the Dhauli and the Jaugaḍa versions agree with the Girnar in closing the edict in this way. The other edicts have a different ending for which see the next note. Both the Dhauli and the Jaugaḍa versions are damaged.

3. This *aṭhaṃ* after hidā seems to be redundant. In the following section (N) *aṭhaṃ* is not repeated after *hidā*.

passage may then be translated as: 'And if one does not practise even great liberality, and (also) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, (he) is very mean.'

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This has been translated by Hultzsch as follows:

(K) .... 'This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'

(L) And what is more desirable than this, viz. the attainment of heaven.

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3. This *aṭhaṃ* after hidā seems to be redundant. In the following section (N) *aṭhaṃ* is not repeated after *hidā*.

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

In section 'L' in the above text we get the word *akālikya* (*akalikaṁ* at Shāh., *akalike* at Mān., and *akālike* at *Yerra*). Hultzsch has rendered it as 'not restricted to time.' Although this reading and its interpretation give good sense, it seems that in the context in which the word occurs it has probably been mis-spelt. What was intended to be inscribed was not *akālika,* but *alokika,* 'not restricted to (this) world.' Aśoka says that the ordinary *maṁgala* which was practised by the people may or may not bear fruit. And even if it does, the fruit belongs only to this world. But in the case of *dhaṁmamaṁgala,* the fruit is not in doubt. It is certain. Either it produces result which has relevance in both the worlds or it produces endless merit valid for the next world. Thus, while the fruit of the ordinary *maṁgala* is restricted to this world alone (hidalokika), the fruit of the *dhaṁmamaṁgala* is not restricted to (this or that) world (*alokika*). The contrast with *hidalokika* is better brought out by *alokika,* than by *akālika.* If the fruit of the religious practice was restricted only to the next world, Aśoka would have used the word *para–or pāra-lokika* to contrast with *hidalokika.*[4] But since the fruit of the religious practice is not restricted to the next world–it may yield fruit even in this world, as made clear in section 'N'–Aśoka has chosen to call it *alokika.* In the context when the location, and not the time, of the result of the action done in this world is emphasized, the desired sense is better obtained by the reading *alokika* instead of *akālika,* which involves in writing the transposition of the letters *'k'* and *'l'*.

In this very edict we find another instance of the transposition of letters. In place of *pasavati* in section 'M', we get *pavasati.* It

4. As he, in fact, does in other edicts.

is likely that the text issued from the king's capital, on which the four different versions were based, contained these two cases of misspellings, viz. *pavasati* and *akālika*. But while the former was corrected in all versions except the one at Kālsī, the latter was retained in all the four versions, possibly because the word was understood to mean 'not restricted to time.' It is true that in the case of *akālika* for *alokika*, besides the transposition of the letters '*k*' and '*l*', we also need one more horizontal mark to the left for the vowel '*o*'. But such minor errors regarding vowel marks are not uncommon in the Aśokan inscriptions.

In the end one minor correction to the translation of Hultzsch may be suggested. In the last section (N), Hultzsch takes *ubhayesaṁ* to refer to the two kinds of results, viz. the attainment of one's object (*aṭhaṁ*) in this world and endless merit (*anaṁtaṁ punā*) in the next. Perhaps it would be better to take *ubhayesaṁ* as referring to both the worlds and translate: "But in case one obtains the object in this world, the gain of both (the worlds) arises from it....."

A FRAGMENT OF A FRESCOED FRIEZE DEPICTING DĪPAṄKARA BUDDHA IN MĪRĀN, CENTRAL ASIA

By Dr. M. S. Bhat*

Recent researches in Central Asia have greatly contributed to our knowledge of the early relations between India and that country. The reports of the Chinese envoys, Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims, and the Chinese biographies of the Buddhist monks living in Central Asia furnish us with a vivid picture of the Buddhist life in the cities and towns there. The time during which the Kushans ruled in Northern India is marked by a full development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is precisely at this time that Buddhism found its way from Northern India to Central Asia. The region referred to comprises Chinese Turkestan with its border-lands towards the Oxus in the West and China proper in the East.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, we find numerous Buddhist settlements on both sides of the Tarim river. All traces of this ancient centre of Indian culture would have been as good as lost for centuries among the secrets of the sand-blown Tarim desert but for the systematic excavations carried out by Russian, European and Asian expeditions which have brought to light enormous material in the form of sculptures, paintings and manuscripts. The bulk of the manuscripts is Buddhist. Buddhist religious centres were spread all over the country. They abound with sculptures and paintings depicting the Buddha and his attendants or scenes from the life-story of the Buddha. The art represented by these paintings is of course not without modifications. The Gandhāra style can be easily recognized.

In this article I propose to deal with a typical scene of Buddhist iconography which once adorned the interior wall of a ruined Buddhist shrine at Mīrān. It has been listed as M. III. 003. The credit of recovering this artistic and valuable fragment goes to Sir Aurel Stein who described it thus: "we see the Buddha dressed in the mendicant's red brown robe, standing with his right hand raised in the well-known 'gesture of protection.' By his side stand six disciples with heads shaved as monks. The scene is clearly laid in a

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garden or grove, but not enough is left to determine the particular legend illustrated from Buddha's life story." Years later, Mr. F. H. Andrews described the scene at great length. What follows is a brief summary of the same.

The Buddha has his right hand raised with the thumb bent inwards touching the second joint of the third finger, that is, the eighth joint. This may symbolize the Buddha expounding 'the eight-fold way' or eight Pāramitās. The left hand is low, probably holding up his loose robe, which is of the traditional type. Behind the Buddha, are grouped the six clean-shaven disciples, their heads arranged in two rows of three each, one above the other; the nearest to him in the upper row holding a yak-tail *caurī* in his raised right hand. To the right of the disciples, appears a naked right arm with the hand grasping a bunch of white buds or flowers, apparently in the act of throwing. Forming a background to the arm, is part of a tree painted as a dark mass diapered with red and white flowers and poppy-like leaves in greenish-gray. On the extreme left, is a similar mass of black on which are scattered well-known leaves in grey-blue. It is clear from the foregoing that both the writers have treated at length the artistic presentation, design and colouring of this fragment of an incomplete panel which in their opinion is influenced by Graeco-Buddhist art. It is a matter of regret that these writers have totally ignored the iconographic purport of the scene. Sir Aurel Stein confesses no doubt his inability "to determine the particular legend illustrated from Buddha's life story."

Though bereft of necessary details, this scene reminds me of the well-known episode of Megha, a Brāhmaṇa youth in the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. It is recorded in *Mahāvastu*.[1] In the *Buddhavaṁsa,* however, Sumedha is the counter-part of Megha (see D. P. N.). Dīpaṅkara, out of pity for his father, King Arcimat and his kinsfolk, came with eighty-thousand monks to the royal city of Dīpavatī. Megha came to the same city after completing his Vedic studies. He wished to honour Dīpaṅkara for which purpose he wanted to purchase five lotuses from a young Brāhmaṇa girl, Prakrti by name, but was prevailed upon by the latter to accept them on condition that he should marry her to which he consented after some hesitation. Then Megha feeling a sublime joy and gladness

1. Senart's ed., I, pp. 231–240.



DĪPAṄKARA BUDDHA AND HIS DISCIPLES

threw those lotuses towards Dīpaṅkara and they remained fixed as a bright veil covering the circle of Dīpaṅkara's head. Prakṛti also threw her two lotuses and these too, stood suspended in the air. Megha resolved that he too, would become a Buddha, and Dīpaṅkara looking into the future, prophesied that he would become one in future, after an immeasurable, incalculable *Kalpa,* in Kapilavastu, the city of *Śākyas,* a Tathāgata of the name of Śākyamuni.

To me, it appears that the naked right arm with the hand grasping a bunch of flowers in the act of throwing is highly suggestive of the episode recorded in the *Mahāvastu.* No doubt, it is not unusual for the donor or donatrix as the case may be, by arrangement with the painter to be represented in the picture. But the size of the arm itself will dispel any doubt that it might have after all belonged to a donor or a donatrix. It is worthwhile to remember that paintings showing the dedicators differ in style widely from the pictures depicting legends. Dīpaṅkara Buddha is held in high esteem by the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhists as being the first Buddha to appear in the world and it was he who prophesied the historical Buddha, Gotama Śākyamuni. If my conjecture turns out to be correct, then this representation of Dīpaṅkara in a painting would be the very first one, though found outside India.

REFERENCES

1. *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks* by Sir Aurel Stein, London, 1933.

2. *Catalogue of Wall-paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia and Sistan.* Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein, and described by F. H. Andrews, Delhi, 1933.

3. *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia*, by F. H. Andrews, London, 1948.

GWALIOR INSCRIPTION OF THE GURJARA-PRATĪHĀRA KING BHOJA

(A Revised Study)

By SADHU RAM*

Provenance :	Sāgar Tāl near Gwalior town.
Published in :	Hiranand Shastri, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1903-4, pp. 277—285; R. C. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 99ff.
Language :	Sanskrit, verse except the salutation formula *Oṁ namo Viṣṇave.*
Script :	Nagari type current in Northern and Western India during the 8th and 9th centuries.
Metres :	*Vasanta-tilakā* 1, 8—11; *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* 2, 4, 7, 18, 19; *Srag-dharā* 3, 5, 6, 12, 27; *Anuṣṭubh* 13, 14, 16, 21—23, 25; *Upajāti* 15, 24; *Śikhariṇī* 17; *Hariṇī* 20.
Object :	To record the erection of an edifice in the seraglio of king Bhoja in honour of Viṣṇu.

INTRODUCTION

This inscription of king Bhoja was discovered near Gwalior in the year 1896. It was first edited by Hiranand Shastri in the *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1903-4. Dr. Kielhorn gave a short account of it in 1905. It was re-edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in 1925-26.

The inscription records the erection of an edifice called *Antaḥ-pura-pura* by king Pratīhāra Bhoja in his seraglio in honour of the god Viṣṇu, the enemy of the demon Naraka.

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TEXT

१. ओं नमो विष्णवे ।।
शेषाहि-तल्प-धवलाधर-भाग-भासि
वक्षः-स्थलोल्लसित-कौस्तुभ-कान्ति-शोणं ।
श्यामं वपु(:*)शशि-विरोचन-विम्व(बिम्ब)-चुम्वि(म्बि)-
व्योम-प्रकाशमवतान्नरक-द्विषो वः ।।१।।
आत्माराम-फलादुपार्ज्य विजरं देवेन दैत्य-द्विषा
ज्योतिर्व्वी(र्बी)जमकृत्रिमे
२. गुणव(ति) क्षेत्रे यदुप्तं पुरा ।
श्रेयः कन्द-वपुस्ततस्समभवद्भास्वानतश्चापरे
मन्विक्ष्वाकु--ककुस्थ(त्स्थ)-मूल-पृथवः क्ष्मापाल-कल्पद्रुमाः ।।२।।
तेषां वंशे सुजन्मा क्रम-निहित-पदे धाम्नि वज्रेषु-घोरं
रामः पौलस्त्य-हिन्श्रं(हिंस्रं) क्षत-विहति-समित्कर्म्म चक्रे पलाशैः ।
श्लाघ्य-
३. स्तस्यानुजो(ऽ*)सौ मघव-मद-मुषो मेघनादस्य संख्ये
सौमित्रिस्तीव्र-दण्डः प्रतिहरण-विधेयैः प्रतीहार आसीत् ।।३।।
तद्वन्शे(द्वंशे)प्रतिहार-केतन-भृति त्त्रैलोक्य-रक्षास्पदे
देवो नागभटः पुरातन-मुनेर्मूर्त्तिर्व्व(र्ब्व)भूवाद्भुतं ।
येनासौ सुकृत-प्रमाथि-व(ब)लवन्म्लेच्छा-
४. धिप-क्षौहिणीः
क्षुन्दान(स्*)स्फुरदुग्र-हेति-रुचिरै(रै)र्द्दोर्भिश्चतुर्भिर्व्व(र्ब्व)भौ ।।४।।
भ्रातुस्तस्यात्मजो(ऽ*)भूत्कलित-कुल-यशाः ख्यात-काकुस्थ(त्स्थ)नामा
लोके गीतः प्रतीक-पृ(प्रि)य-वचनतया कक्कुकः क्ष्माभृदीशः ।
श्रीमानस्यानुजन्मा कुलिश-धर-धुरामुद्वहन्देवराजो
य(ज)ज्ञे च्छिनो(न्नो)रु-पक्ष-क्षपित-ग-
५. ति-कुलं भूभृतां सन्नियन्ता ।।५।।
तत्सूनुः प्राप्य राज्यं निजमुदयगिरि-स्पर्द्धि भास्वत्प्रतापः
क्ष्मापालः प्रादुरासीन्नत-सकल-जगद्वत्सलो वत्सराजः ।
यस्यैतास्सम्पदश्च द्विरद-मद-सुरास्वाद-सान्द्र-प्रमोदाः
पद्माक्षीराक्षिपन्त्य(:*)प्रणयि-जन-परिष्वङ्ग-कान्ता विरेजुः ।।६।।
ख्या(ताद्भण्डि)-
६. कुलान्मदोत्कट-करि-प्राकार-दुर्ल्लङ्घतो
यः साम्राज्यमधिज्य-कार्म्मुक-सखा संख्ये हठादग्रहीत्(।*)
एकः क्षत्रिय-पुङ्गवेषु च यशो-गुर्व्वीन्धुरं प्रोद्वह-
न्निक्ष्वा(को)ः कुलमुन्नतं सुचरितैश्चक्रे स्व-नामाङ्कितं ।।७।।

आद्यः पुमान्पुनरपि स्फुट-कीर्त्तिरस्मा-
ज्जातस्स एव किल नागभटस्तदाख्यः ।
यत्रा-
७. न्ध्र-सैन्धव-विदर्भ-कलिङ्ग-भूपैः
कौमार-धामनि पतङ्ग-समैरपाति ।।८।।
त्र(त्र)य्यास्पदस्य सुकृतस्य समृद्धिमिच्छु-
र्यः क्षत्र-धाम-विधि-व(ब)द्ध-व(ब)लि-प्रव(ब)न्धः ।
जित्वा पराश्रय-कृत-स्फुट-नीच-भावं
चक्रायुधं विनय-नम्र-वपुर्व्व्यराजत् ।।९।।
दुर्व्वार-वैरि-वर-वारण-वाजि-वार-
याणौ(नौ)घ-संघट-
८. न-घोर-घनान्धकारं ।
निर्ज्जित्य वङ्गपतिमाविरभूद्विवस्वा-
नुद्यन्निव त्रिजगदेक-विकासको यः ।।१०।।
आनर्त्त-मालव-किरात-तुरुष्क-वत्स-
मत्स्यादि-राजगिरि-दुर्ग्ग-हठापहारैः ।
यस्यात्म-वैभवमतीन्द्रियमाकुमार-
माविर्व्व(र्ब्व)भूव भुवि विश्वजनीन-वृत्तेः ।।११।।
तज्जन्मा राम-
९. नामा प्रवर हरि-व(ब)ल-न्यस्त-भूभृत्प्रव(ब)न्धै-
राव(ब)ध्नन्वाहिनीनां प्रसभमधिपतीनुद्धत-क्रूर-सत्वा(त्त्वा)न् ।
पापाचारान्तराय-प्रमथन-रुचिरः संगत(:*) कीर्त्ति-दारै-
स्त्राता धर्म्मस्य नैस्तैस्समुचित-चरितैः पूर्ववन्निर्व्व(र्ब्व)भासे ।।१२।।
अनन्य-साधनाधीन-प्रतापाक्रान्त-दि
१०. ङ्मुखः ।
उपायैस्सम्पदां स्वामी यः स-व्रीडमुपास्यत ।।१३।।
अर्थिभिर्व्विनियुक्तानां सम्पदां जन्म केवलं ।
यस्याभूत्कृतिनः प्रीत्यै नात्मेच्छा-विनियोगतः ।।१४।।
जगद्वितृष्णु (:*) स विशुद्ध-सत्व(त्त्व) :
प्रजापतित्वं विनियोक्तुकामः ।
सुतं रहस्य-व्रत-सुप्रसन्ना-
त्सूर्यादवा-
११. पन्मिहिराभिधानं ।।१५।।

उपरोधैक-संरुद्ध-विन्ध्य-वृद्धेरगस्त्यतः (।*)
आक्रम्य भूभृतां भोक्ता यः प्रभुर्भोज इत्यभात् ।।१६।।
यशस्वी शान्तात्मा जगदहित-विच्छेद-निपुणः
परिष्वक्तो लक्ष्म्या न च मद-कलङ्केन कलितः ।
व(ब)भूव प्रेमार्द्रो गुणिषु विषयः सूनृत-
१२. गिरा-
मसौ रामो वाग्रे स्व-कृति-गणनायामिह विधेः ।।१७।।

यस्याभूत्कुल-भूमिभृत्प्रमथन-व्यस्तान्य-सैन्याम्वु(म्बु)धे-
र्व्यूढां च स्फुटितारि-लाज-निवहान्हुत्वा प्रतापानले ।
गुप्ता वृद्ध-गुणैरनन्य-गतिभिः शान्तैस्सुधोद्भासिभि-
र्द्धर्म्मापत्य-यशः-प्रभूतिरपरालक्ष्मीः पुनर्भू-
र्न्न या ।।१८।।

१३. प्रीतैः पालनया तपोधन-कुलैः स्नेहाद्गुरूणां गुणै-
र्भक्त्या भ(भृ)त्य-जनेन नीति-निपुणैर्वृन्दैररीणां पुनः ।
विश्वेनापि यदीयमायुरमितं कर्तुं स्व-जीवैषिणा
तन्निघ्ना विदधे विधातरि यथा सम्पत्परार्द्धचाश्रये ।।१९।।
अ-वितथमिदं यावद्विश्वं श्रुते-
१४. रनुशासना-
द्भवति फल-भाक्कर्त्ता नेशः क्षितीन्द्र-शतेष्वपि ।
अधरित-कलेः कीर्त्तेर्भर्त्तुस्सतां सुकृतैरभू-
द्विधुरित-धियां सम्पद्वृद्धिर्यदस्य तदद्भुतं ।।२०।।

यस्य वैरि-वृ(बृ)हद्वङ्गशा(द्वंशा)[1] न्दहतः कोप-वह्निना
प्रतापादर्ण्णसां राशीन्पातुर्व्वैतृष्ण्यमाव(ब)भौ ।।२१।।
कुमारेणैव विद्यानां
१५. वृन्देनाद्भुत-कर्म्मणा ।
यः शशासासुरान्घोरान्स्त्रैणेनास्त्रैक-वृत्तिना ।।२२।।

यस्याक्ष-पटले राज्ञः प्रभुत्वाद्विश्व-सम्पदः ।
लिलेख मुखमालोक्य प्रातिलेख्य-करो विधिः ।।२३।।

उद्दाम-तेजः-प्रसर-प्रसूता शिखेव कीर्त्तिर्द्युमर्णि विजित्य ।
जाया जगद्भर्त्तु-

1. Hiranand Shastri, वृहद्वंङ्गान्, *ASIR*, 1903-4, pp. 277 ff.

१६. रियाय यस्य चित्रं त्विदं यज्जलधीन्स्त(धींस्त)तार ॥२४॥

राज्ञा तेन स्व-देवीनां यशः-पुण्याभिवृद्धये ।
अन्तःपुर-पुरं नाम्ना व्यधायि नरक-द्विषः ॥२५॥

यावन्नभः सुर-सरित्प(त्प्र)सरोत्तरीयं
यावत्सुदुश्चर-तपः-प्रभवः प्रभावः ।
सत्यञ्च यावदुपरिस्थ(ष्ठ)मवत्यशेषं
तावत्पु-

१७. नातु जगतीमियमार्य-कीर्त्तिः ॥२६॥

पातुर्व्विश्वस्य सम्यक्परम-मुनि-मत-श्रेयसस्सम्वि[2]धाना-
दन्तर्वृत्तिर्व्विवेकः स्थित इव पुरतो भोजदेवस्य राज्ञः ।
विद्वद्वृन्दार्ज्जितानां फलमिव तपसां भट्टधन्नेक-सूनु-
र्व्वा(र्व्वा)लादित्यः प्रशस्तेः कविरिह जगता साकमाकल्प-
वृत्तेः ॥२७॥

NOTES

1. विरोचन (line 1)—Here it means 'the sun.'

2. नरक-द्विषः (line 1) 'Of the enemy of the Asura Naraka.' Naraka was the son of the Earth. The *Mahābhārata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* describe him as having carried away the ear-rings of Aditi and put them in the impregnable castle of Prāgjyotiṣa. But Viṣṇu in the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, killed him at the request of the gods and recovered the ornament. *Harivaṁśa* (Ch. 122), however, gives a different version of the legend.[3]

3. इक्ष्वाकु (line 2)—Ikṣvāku was born from the nostril of Vaivasvata Manu when he happened to sneeze. He founded the Solar race of kings and ruled over Ayodhyā in the beginning of the *Tretā* Age. Of his hundred sons, Vikukṣi was the eldest. Nimi, another son of his, founded a dynasty at Mithilā. Ikṣvāku's name occurs only once in the *Ṛgveda* (X. 60.7). Max Müller thinks that it was the name of a people who inhabited Bhajeratha, the country watered by Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā). According to others these people lived in the North-West.[4]

4. ककुत्स्थ (line 2)—His other name was Puraṁjaya, 'city-

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2. Read श्रेयसस्संविधाना—

3. For this and Nos. 3—8, vide Dowson's *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, s. v.*

4. See also *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, Chap. 10.

conqueror,' because according to the *Bhāgavata*[5] he conquered the city of the Daityas situated in the West. He was the son of Vikukṣi of the Solar race, whose aid was sought by the gods against the Asuras at the instance of Viṣṇu. He consented to assist them provided Indra assumed the form of a bull and carried him upon his hump (*kakud*) to the battle-field. Thus carried, he destroyed the Asuras and came to be called Kākutstha (hump-rider).

5. मूल-पृथु (line 2)—There were several kings of this name, but the adjective *mūla* suggests that he was Pṛthu (also called Pṛthi), the son of Vena, and the first king from whom the Earth received the name *Pṛthivī*. In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[6] he is referred to as 'first of men who was installed a king.'[7]

6. पौलस्त्य (line 2)—The name of Rāvaṇa, who was the son of the great sage Pulastya. Pulastya was the son of Prajāpati (or (mind-born sons of Brahmā). Some of the *Purāṇas* were communicated to men through him. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* which he received from Brahmā, was communicated by him to Parāśara who made it popular.

7. मघव-मदमुषो मेघनादस्य (line 3)—'Of Meghanāda, the humbler of the pride of Indra.' Meghanāda was the son of Rāvaṇa, who accompanied his father in his war against Indra. Taking advantage of the magical power of becoming invisible, which he had obtained from Śiva, Meghanāda bound Indra and took him to Laṅkā. He refused to release him even at the request of gods headed by Brahmā who gave him the name of 'Indrajit.' According to the *Rāmāyaṇa,* Meghanāda was killed by Lakṣmaṇa (Saumitri, the son of Sumitrā) who cut-off his head while the former was engaged in a sacrifice.

8. प्रतिहरण-विधेः (line)—'Owing to the injunction of preventing the entry of others.' Lakṣmaṇa was appointed by his elder brother Rāma as door-keeper to debar the entry of anybody while the latter was engaged in a conference with Time who was sent to inform him that his earthly career was drawing to a close, and that he should elect whether to stay longer on the earth

5. 9. 6. 12—15.
6. 12. 2. 4. 6.
7. Also *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* 4. 15. 1—4.

or to return to the place whence he had come. During the course of the conference, the irascible sage Durvāsā came and insisted on seeing Rāma on pain of inflicting a curse if he refused. Lakṣmaṇa, thereupon, decided to save his brother from the curse of the sage, and interrupted the conference, as a result of which he had to retire to the river Sarayū and resign himself.[8]

9. पुरातन-मुने: (line 3)—'Of the ancient sage,' i.e., Nārāyaṇa, one of the two ancient Ṛṣis, the other being Nara who is generally coupled with him (viz., Nara-Nārāyaṇa). They were the sons of Dharma and Ahiṁsā. The name Nārāyaṇa is found for the first time in the *Śatapatha Brāhma*.[9]

10. वलवन्म्लेच्छान् (ine 3)—'The powerful Mlecchas.' They were probably the Arabs of Sindh who were launching attacks on Rajasthan and Malava, and were repulsed by Nāgabhaṭa I. Bhandarkar suggests the *Balaca-mlecchān*, i.e., 'the Baluchis' or the Arabs who had occupied Baluchistan by that time. This Arab invasion also finds mention in the Navasārī plates of Avanijināśraya Pulakeśin, a Cālukya king of Lāṭa country,[10] and in the Kavi plates of the Gurjara prince Jayabhaṭa IV.[11]

11. छिन्नोरु-पक्ष-क्षपित-गति-कुलं भूभृतां संनियन्ता (lines 4-5)—Here the reference seems to be to some conflict of the Pratīhāras with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies, corresponding to the legend of Indra who cut off the wings of the mountains because they were refractory and troublesome. This conflict, however, cannot refer to that with the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar which occurred only during the time of the next ruler Vatsarāja of this family.

12. भण्डि-कुलात् (line 5-6)—'From the Bhaṇḍi clan.' According to the older view, first propounded by Gaurishankar Hiranand Ojha and accepted by A. S. Altekar, this Bhaṇḍi clan is to be identified with the family of Bhaṇḍi who is mentioned in the

8. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII. 103. 16; also *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 110-111.

9. 13. 6. 1. 1.

10. For Bhandarkar's reading *balaca*, see *IA*, 1911, p. 240; for Arab invasion, see *HK*, p. 227; *GP*, p. 117. *CII*, IV, pp. 140-141, lines 23—25. p. 144

11. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 154, verse 2.

F. 4

Harṣacarita[12] of Bāṇa.[13] R. S. Tripathi,[14] on the other hand, equates Bhaṇḍi with Bhaṭṭi clan whose political importance may be gathered from the fact that Padminī, the mother of Pratīhāra Bāuka of Jodhpur line, belonged to it. That Vatsarāja attained supreme status in Gurjaratrā or Central Rajputana by defeating the Bhaṭṭis is to some extent confirmed by Osia and Daulatpur inscriptions.[15] Dasharath Sharma denies the identification of Bhaṇḍi with Bhaṭṭi, because he does not consider the defeat of the Bhaṭṭis to be such a notable achievement as to be spoken of with pride by his descendant Bhoja in the face of Vatsarāja's much greater feat of carrying his arms as far as Bengal and subjugating the princes that lay between that kingdom and Gurjaratrā. He prefers Bhaṇḍi's identification with the Bhaṇḍi of *Harṣacarita*. There is, however, nothing to prove that the family of Bhaṇḍi ever wielded royal power; for, there would otherwise have been some historical evidence showing the rule of that family up to the time of Vatsarāja.

13. आद्यः पुमान् (line 6)—'The first man,' viz., Nārāyaṇa. It refers to Nāgabhaṭa I who is spoken of as the very image of *purātana muni* earlier in verse 4.

14. आन्ध्र (line 7)—The Andhra country lay between the Godavari and the Krishna.

15. सिन्धु (line 7)—Sindhu denotes the lower course of the river Indus.

16. विदर्भ-कलिङ्ग (line 7)—Vidarbha and Kalinga were the ancient designations of the modern provinces of Berar and Orissa.

17. कौमार-धामनि (line 7)—'Into the light of the fire.' The word *kumāra* is one of the names of Agni. *Kaumāra,* therefore, means 'of Agni, or belonging to Agni.' B. C. Sen[16] and Dasharath Sharma,[17] admitting a pun on the word *kaumāra* which also means

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12. Chap. V.

13. Also referred to by B. N. Puri in *GP*, p. 39, fn. 2.

14. *HK*, p. 229; also *JDL*, X, p. 28.

15. Osiā, *ASIR*, 1908-9, p. 108: Daulatpur, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 208; *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 642 ff.

16. *PIHC*, XI, pp. 141 ff.

17. *JIH*, XXII, p. 603.

'juvenile,' suggest that some of the victories were won by Nāgabhaṭa while he was a young man, acting as his father's viceroy. As the same inscription does not say even a word about Nāgabhaṭa's achievements as crown-prince while narrating the exploits of Vatsarāja, his father, the view does not seem to be convincing.

18. चक्रायुधम् (line 7)—Cakrāyudha, belonging to the Āyudha family, was the king of Kanauj. The Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa[18] make Nāgabhaṭa, Cakrāyudha and Dharmapāla as contemporaries. Cakrāyudha also finds mention in the Bhāgalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla.[19] The Khālimpur Copper-plate also seems to refer to this king in verse 6. Indrāyudha, his predecessor, was defeated by Dharmapāla of Bengal and was replaced by Cakrāyudha, his protégé, in the grand assembly at Kanauj.[20] He was later on defeated along with his overlord Dharmapāla, by Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II.

19. वङ्ग-पतिम् (line 8)—It refers to Dharmapāla,[21] the king of Bengal who reigned from A.D. 770–810.

20. आनर्त्त (line 8)—In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. Ānarta is said to correspond to northern Kāṭhiāwār with its capital at Kuśasthalī, the modern Dvārakā.[22] According to another suggestion, it comprised northern Gujarāt with its capital Ānarttapura, afterwards called Ānandapura, the modern Vādnagar. References in Sanskrit literature show that Surāṣṭra, Anūpa and Ānarta were contiguous countries, and that Anūpa lay beyond the south of Ānarta.[23] Surāṣṭra and Ānarta together formed one province under Rudradāman's minister, the Pahlava Suviśākha.[24]

21. मालव (line 8)—Mālava included both Ākara and Avanti corresponding to the eastern and western Mālava respectively. It

18. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 235 ff., verse 23.
19. *IA*, XV, pp. 304, fn. 3.
20. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 243, verse 6.
21. *AIK*, p. 25.
22. *IA*, VII, p. 259.
23. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 344.
24. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 44, line 11; also see *GP*. 45, fn. 2.

appears that Nāgabhaṭa conquered Mālava after 812 A.D. when the Surāṣṭra country was in a state of anarchy.

22. किरात (line 8) —The Kirātas were a wild tribe of the Himālayan region. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out that the Nepalese usage still gives the name Kirāta to the country between the Dūdh-kosī and Arun, and there is evidence to show that the Kirātas occupied a much more extensive area in Nepal.[25] Another view identifies Kirāta with Kīra mentioned in the Khālimpur Grant as having acknowledged Dharmapāla's sovereignty along with the Matsyas. According to Collins, Kirāta could only be regarded as one of the general terms for non-Āryan aborigines,[26] which is unacceptable, for Śiva is stated to have assumed the classical Divine Hunter (*Kirāta*) form.

23. तुरुष्क (line 8) —The Turuṣkas were, no doubt, the Arabs of Sindh with whom the Pratīhāras were constantly at war.

24. वत्स (line 8) --According to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Vatsa included the south-eastern division of the Middle country with its capital at Kauśāmbī.[27]

25. मत्स्य (line 8) —According to Cunningham, Matsya then included the whole of the present Alwar territory with parts of Jaipur and Bharatpur.[28]

26. राज गिरि (line 8) —Dr. Majumdar and others have erroneously rendered Rājagiri by 'hill-forts of kings.' The main difficulty in accepting this interpretation lies in the fact that all the aforesaid kingdoms did not possess hill-forts. As a matter of fact, Rājagiri was itself the name of a hill-fort, and its seizure was necessary for Nāgabhaṭa for the defence of his empire. Fortunately, some literary sources also confirm the existence of Rājagiri. The Jaina *Prabhāvakacarita*, which mainly deals with the lives of Jaina Ācāryas, credits Āma-Nāgāvaloka, the patron of Ācārya Bappa-

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25. *Le Nepāl*, Vol. II, pp. 72–78; *IA*, XIII, p. 417.

26. *Geographical Data from the Raghuvaṁśa and Daśakumāracarita*, Liepzig, p. 8.

27. *IA*, XXII, referred to in *GP*, p. 45, fn. 6.

28. *Reports*, 20, p. 2.

bhaṭṭi, with the conquest of Rājagiri-durga. There is some reason to believe that Nāgabhaṭa II of this inscription had the title Nāgāvaloka, who may possibly be identified with Āma-Nāgāvaloka. Again, Al-Berunī also refers to the fortress of Rājagiri which, according to him, lay south of the mountain Kularjak, to the east of which lay the fortress Lahor, the two strongest places.[29]

27. संगत: कीर्तिदारै: (line 9)—Here the *kīrti* (fame) of the Pratīhāras is compared to Sītā, the wife of Rāma, who was abducted and kept captive by Rāvaṇa. This comparison aptly applies to the reign of Rāmabhadra during which the fame of the house was eclipsed. Rāmabhadra was a weakling who, being averse to the worldly affairs (*jagad-vitṛṣṇu*), was anxious to abdicate the overlordship of his subjects (*prajādhipatyaṁ viniyoktukāmaḥ*).[30] There was probably a rebellion of the cruel commanders of his army, which he crushed with the help of his subordinate kings.

28. मिहिराभिधानम् (line 11)—Mihira was another name of Bhoja which also occurs in the Begumrā Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva of the Gujarāt branch.[31]

29. संरुद्ध-विन्ध्य-वृद्धेर् अगस्त्यत: (line 11)—The reference is to the legend of the mountain Vindhya gradually rising so as to obstruct the daily course of the sun. When requested by the gods, the sage Agastya approached the mountain and ordered him to bow down to give him way to the south, and keep to that position till his return. Vindhya complied and, as the sage never returned, it had to remain in the same position.[32]

30. धर्मापत्य (line 12)—This refers to Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, who was a contemporary of Bhoja and was his keen rival for the lordship of Northern India. Here Bhoja is described to have churned Lakṣmī, the source of fame, out of the ocean of the hostile forces with the help of the kings of his own family, whereas in the Garuḍa Pillar inscription,[33] Devapāla is said to have humbled

29. E. Sachau, *Al-Berūnī's India*, p. 208; H. A. Phadke's articles, *NPP*, *Saṁ*. 2021, *Aṅka*, 1-2, pp. 182-83; *AOC*, Gauhati, 1965, Summaries.

30. Verse 15 of the text.

31. *IA*, XII, p. 179, verse 41.

32. *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, Chap. 104.

33. *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 60 ff., verse 13.

the pride of the king of the Gurjaras, i.e., of Bhoja. This may show that the result of the conflict was not decisive as both parties claim victory.

31. वृहद्वंगान् (line 14)—Hiranand Shastri[34] read it as *vṛhad-vaṅgān*, 'the formidable Vaṅgas,' i.e., the Pālas. According to the other reading given here, the conflict may be interpreted to refer to the struggle of the Pratīhāras with the Pālas as well as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

32. कुमारेणेव विद्यानां...घोरान् (lines 14-15)—Kumāra Kārtikeya is said to have beaten in a war the Asuras with his army of a number of *Vidyās* (*Mātṛkās*). The allusion to Bhoja's conflict with the Asuras is not clear. Who were the Asuras in his case and from where could he gather an army of armed women are questions requiring investigation.

TRANSLATION

Line 1. Oṁ! Salutation to Viṣṇu.

Verse 1. May the swarthy body of the Enemy of Naraka (Viṣṇū) protect you,—the body which is bright like the sky that touches the orbs of the moon and the sun, which is radiant on account of its lower part being brightened by the serpent Śeṣa serving as bed, and is made reddish by the lustre of (the jewel) Kaustubha glittering on the chest.[35]

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34. *ASIR*, 1903-4, p. 285.

35. Dr. Majumdar has unnecessarily combined the two lines of this verse into a long *Karmadhāraya* compound, when both the phrases could even independently qualify the word *vapuḥ*. In the long compound, one may easily be misled to take *-bhasi* as qualifying *vakṣaḥ-sthala*. Again, his translation of the first line as: "inasmuch as it (i.e., the swarthy body) is brightened by the lower part of the serpent Śeṣa serving as bed," too, is not quite correct. How can the lower part of a bed brighten the body of a person lying on it? As a matter of fact, the serpent Śeṣa being all white, he brightents the lower part of the body. Therefore, the first line should be dissolved as *Śeṣāhi-talpena dhavalaḥ adhara-bhāgas tena bhāsi vapuḥ*, "the body being made resplendent by its lower part made white by the serpent Śeṣa serving as bed." The poet here probably wants to convey the impression of the variegated effect produced by the whiteness of the lower part of the body, redness of the upper part with the lustre of

2. As from the fresh (*vi-jaram*) seed, taken from a fruit in the garden (*ārāma*) and sown in a natural (*a-kṛtrima*) fertile (*guṇa-vati*) soil, grows a splendid shoot (*bhāsvān*)[36] having a superior root-stem (*kanda-vapuḥ*) from which spring the various (*apare*) original large trees (*mūla-pṛthavaḥ*); so from the imperishable particle of light (*jyotir-bījam*) evolved by the Enemy of the Demons (Viṣṇu) from his inherent felicity (*ātmārāma*) and sown by him in Nature's (*a-kṛtrime*) soil possessing the (three) *guṇas*, there was born the Sun, with his handsome figure having its roots in bliss (*śreyaḥ-kanda-vapuḥ*), from whom sprang the other munificent kings (*kṣāmapāla-kalpadrumāḥ*) like Manu, Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha and the first Pṛthu.

3. In their race, in the family in which Viṣṇu (Krama)[37] set (his) foot, Rāma of auspicious birth was engaged in an action, terrible on account of the use of flint-arrows causing the death of Rāvaṇa, and involving the infliction of wounds, death and cremation (*samit-karmma*) with palāśa[38] faggots.

Kaustubha, and the swarthy (i.e., somewhat bluish) complexion of its side, like the colour of a rainbow. Cf. Hindī poet Bihārī's couplet:

अधर धरत हरि के परत ओठ दीठि पट जोति ।
हरित बाँस की बाँसुरी इन्द्र-धनुष रँग होति ।।

In this couplet, the rainbow-effect is produced by the reflection of the red lip and blue eyes of Kṛṣṇa on the green reed of his flute.

Further, Dr. Majumdar has also been mistaken in taking the last two lines of the verse independent of each other, but translating them as one compound. Since the word *cumbi* must qualify *vyoma*, the two lines must form one single compound; otherwise, *cumbi* would be taken to qualify *vapuḥ* which would be absurd. Moreover, Majumdar's rendering of *cumbi* by 'kissed by' in the passive is incorrect. The sky should be taken as 'kissing or touching' (*cumbin*) the orbs of the moon and the sun, and not 'kissed by' their orbs.

36. The expression is to be construed as *tataḥ śreyaḥ-kanda-vapuḥ bhāsvān samabhavat*, where the word *bhāsvān* can refer to nothing else but 'a splendid shoot' qualified by the phrase *śreyaḥ-kanda-vapuḥ*, *signifying* the excellent stem of the root.

37. Here Krama is a secondary name of Viṣṇu, Cf. *Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma*, 22 a): ईश्वरो विक्रमी धन्वी मेधावी विक्रमः 'क्रमः' ।

38. Dr. Majumdar has translated *palāśaiḥ* as 'with demons,' the eaters of *pāla* (flesh), and construed it with the phrase *kṣata-vihati-samit-karma cakre*, 'was engaged in an action (i.e., war) with the demand involving infliction of wounds, death and setting of fire.' In the first place, the word *palāśa* being a

4. In that family, which bore the ensign of *pratihāra* (or, which held aloft the banner of the Pratīhāras), and was the haven for the three worlds, the king Nāgabhaṭa appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyaṇa) in a strange manner, so that, having crushed the large armies of the powerful Mleccha king, the destroyer of virtue, he shone with four arms resplendent with the flash of terrible weapons.

5. His brother's son, who enhanced the reputation of the family and bore the well-known name of Kakutstha, but who, on account of his (habit of) saying pleasant things with (a tinge of) irony, was popularly called Kakkuka, was a paramount king.

(Then) was born his illustrious younger brother, Devarāja, who curbed a multitude of kings by destroying their powerful allies and thus putting an end to their free movement and (their) families, thereby performing the same momentous task as that of Indra who curbed the multitude of mountains by clipping their powerful wings and thus putting an end to their movements.

6. His son, king Vatsarāja, who was kind towards the entire world that he had subdued, and who resembled the sun in lustre, came to prominence by attaining his own kingdom which rivalled the Udayagiri (the mountain of sun-rise). Of whom these riches, which were the source of great pleasure on account of the flavour of the intoxicant liquor in the form of elephant ichor, and pleasing because of their coming in the lotus-eyed women who became exceedingly merry by having tasted wine which was like the ichor of elephants and appeared charming in the tight embraces of their lovers.

7. With strung bow as his companion, who forcibly wrested empire in battle from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan, hard to overcome by

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rūḍhi word, its sense is restricted to the tree of that name or its wood which is commonly used in sacrifices and other fire-rites. It cannot, therefore, give the sense of 'a demon.' For demon, if such a word has to be coined, it should be *palāśanaḥ*, 'eater of flesh.' Secondly, *samit-karmma* here refers to cremation and not to setting of fire, which was done by Hanumān long before the Rāma-Rāvaṇa conflict. The war being compared to a sacrifice in which Rāvaṇa is treated as a sacrificial animal, the phrase should be taken to refer to him, i.e., it was on him that the 'wounds and death were inflicted, and finally, the *samit-karmma* of his body was done by a pyre of palāśa wood.

reason of the rampart of infuriated elephants. Having shouldered the responsibility (of the government), weighty on account of its renown, he, the one man amongst the most distinguished Kṣatriyas, raised (the prestige of) the race of Ikṣvāku by virtue of his good conduct and stamped it with his own name.

8. To him was born again the same primeval ancestor Nāgabhaṭa, of wide fame, and having the same name, to whose youthful splendour succumbed the kings of Andhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kalinga as moths fall into the light of fire.

9. Desirous of promoting the virtuous deeds enjoined in the Vedas, he fixed up (the programme of) a series of religious offerings according to the custom of the Kṣatriya families, and, having conquered Cakrāyudha, whose mean demeanour was evident from his dependence on others, he became eminent, although he remained humble through modesty.

10. Having vanquished the lord of Vaṅga who appeared like the formidable and thick darkness owing to the crowding of a multitude of his irresistible and hostile best elephants, horses and armoured chariots, he (Nāgabhaṭa), who alone was responsible for the prosperity of the three worlds, revealed himself just as the sun, the sole means of bringing the three worlds into light, reveals himself after vanquishing the formidable dense darkness.

11. Of him, whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible personal qualities became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of (the kingdoms) of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, Matsya and the fort of Rājagiri.

12. (The great Rāma), the protector of virtue, after having forcibly bridged over the oceans, full of exceedingly cruel sea-monsters, by means of a continuous chain of rocks placed by the best monkey-force, looked bright by having killed the evil-doers who served as obstacles and (thereby) got renown and his wife. (In the same manner) his (Nāgabhaṭa's) son, Rāma by name, also shone forth like this (homonymous) predecessor, by similar worthy deeds; for he, the defender of religion, too, had the haughty and cruel commanders of armies forcibly bound down by (his subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge and looked radiant

by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil-doers and (thus) attained fame which was unto him even as a consort.

13. The lord of prosperity, who had empowered the ends of quarters by means of valour (alone), unsupported by the other expedients (such as *śama, dama, bheda*), was yet demurely waited upon by the Means (i.e., although he neglected them as unnecessary, they were at his beck and call).

14. The production of the wealth of that successful one was merely a source of delight; it was at the disposal of the supplicants, but never a means to satisfy his own desires.

15. A pure soul, averse from the world, he obtained a son, by name Mihira, by (the favour of) the Sun, propitiated by mysterious rites, in order to dispose of the lordship (which he exercised) over his subjects.

16. The lord, who ruled over many kings after having overcome them, and (being therefore) known as Bhoja, shone more gloriously than Agastya who (merely) checked the rise of (a single mountain) Vindhya through favour (and not by his own powers).

17. Famous, unperturbed, adept in removing the evils of the world, embraced by Lakṣmī (sovereign power), but not soiled by the stain of arrogance, he was affectionate towards the meritorious and an asylum of good and pleasant words. Does he or Rāma stand foremost when Brahmā counts his own creation?

18. The other Lakṣmī, the source of the fame of Dharma's son (i.e., Dharmapāla's son Devapāla), who cast out the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the chief (*kula*) mountains in the form of kings of his (Bhoja's) own race, who married by offering (as an oblation) fried grains, which were the routed enemies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by his superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, did not become a remarried widow (but a new wife) of that king (i.e., of Bhoja).*

* (We cannot understand how Dr. Majumdar has rendered the last word *nnayā* in which the doubling of *n* is due to the influence of the preceding *r* (of *visarga*). From his translation, 'became a fit re-married bride,' it appears

19. In order to extend the duration of his life beyond all measure, the ascetics pleased on account of the protection afforded to them; the preceptors, out of affection; the servants, out of devotion; the multitude of astute foes, out of policy; and mankind in general for the sake of its livelihood, made their respective services (treasures) subservient to him, who was a worthy recipient, as if to the Creator himself.

20. According to the injunction of the Śruti, this is a truism, so long as the world lasts, that he who does a thing enjoys the fruit thereof, and not (another) though he be the lord of a hundred kings. It is strange that through the good deeds of noble men, the wealth of those who had adverse intentions (i.e., foes) led to the prosperity of this king (i.e., Bhoja), who is the conqueror of Kali and the lord of Fame!*

21. Of him, who had burnt powerful hostile races by the fire of his anger, and guarded the oceans by his valour, the absence of greed (for further conquest) shone indeed (even as the satiety of a man who has drunk a large quantity of water).

22. Like Kumāra (Kārttikeya) with his host of Mātṛkās who performed wonderful deeds, he subdued the terrible Asuras with the help of a band of women that lived exclusively upon arms.

23. *Vidhi* (Fate), writing anew (the destinies of the world), wrote in chancery of that king, looking at (i.e., being guided by) his face, since the latter was the master of the world in consequence of his prowess. (In other words, the destiny of the world was absolutely at the command of that all-powerful king).

24. Fame, resulting from the unbounded energy of that lord of the world, was unto him even as a consort, and like a flame issu-

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that he has rendered *nayā* by 'fit,' which could only be justified if the word had been *nayāt,* meaning 'properly.' In our opinion, the word must be split into *na* and *yā,* and the sentence construed as *yā* (*Lakṣmī*) *yasya punar-bhūr nābhūt,*' "who did not become the re-married widow espoused by him," (because she was freshly churned out of the ocean of his foes she became his virgin bride.).

***It is not understandable how Dr. Majumdar has rendered *vidhurita-dhiyām* by 'whose intellect was undefiled,' and taken it to refer to *satām* (good men). *Vidhurita* does not mean 'undefiled,' it means 'adverse.' Thus, *vidhurita-dhiyām* means 'those who have adverse or hostile intentions,' i.e., foes. The sentence should be construed as यत् सतां सुकृतैर् विघुरित-घियां सम्पद् अस्याघरित-कलेः कीर्त्तेर् भर्त्तुर् वृद्धिर् अभूत्, तद् अद्भुतम् ! The fruit of virtue (i.e. wealth of foes) instead of going to good men, accrued to the king.**

ing out of a flood of lustre, returned after conquering the Sun. It is a wonder that she crossed the ocean.

25. In order to increase the fame and religious merit of his consorts, the king erected an edifice within his seraglio, called the *Antaḥpura-pura*, for the Enemy of the demon Naraka (i.e., Viṣṇu).

26. As long as the sky has the flowing celestial stream (Gaṅgā) as its upper garment, as long as there lasts the power of originating from rigorous religious austerties, as long as Truth protects all that is above, so long may this noble and famous work purify the world.

27. Bālāditya (is) the poet of this *praśasti* which would exist along with world up to the end of Kalpa; (he) the son of Bhaṭṭadhanneka and the fruit of penance, as it were, of a number of learned men, (is) the (personified) inner faculty of discrimination, standing before king Bhojadeva, the protector of the world, inasmuch as he (Bālāditya) follows the good rules sanctioned by the best of the sages.

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

Our inscription begins with a salutation and invocation to Viṣṇu, the enemy of the demon Naraka, for the protection of the readers of the *praśasti*. The second verse describes the creation of the sun and refers to some important kings like Manu, Ikṣvāku, and others of the Solar Race. The next verse traces the origin of the Pratīhāra family to Lakṣmaṇa who had acted as *pratihāra* to his elder brother Rāma. The following table gives the genealogy of the family up to the time of Bhoja:

Lakṣmaṇa

- **(1) Nāgabhaṭa I (A.D. 725 ?—760 ?)**
- **Unnamed brother**
  - **(2) Kakkuka or Kākutstha (A.D. 760—763)**
  - **(3) Devarāja (A.D. 763—775)**
    - **(4) Vatsarāja (A.D. 775—792)**
      - **(5) Nāgabhaṭa II (A.D. 792—833)**
        - **(6) Rāmabhadra (A.D. 833—836)**
          - **(7) Mihirabhoja (A.D. 836—890)**

The chronology of the family can be fairly accurately fixed with the help of the other epigraphs and literary evidences. We have A.D. 756 as the date for Nāgabhaṭa I, known from the Hansoṭ plates of Bhartṛvaḍḍha,[39] his Cahamāna feudatory ruling at Broach. From the colophons of the Jaina works *Kuvalayamālā*[40] and *Harivaṁśa*,[41] we know that Vatsarāja was ruling over the western quarter and Jābālipura (*mod.*, Jalor) in the years A.D. 778 and 783 respectively. For Nāgabhaṭa II, who succeeded him, A.D. 815 is the only available date known from the Buckāla inscription from the Jodhpur region.[42] But, the Jaina work *Prabhāvakacarita* speaks of a Nāgāvaloka,[43] the king of Kanauj who died in A.D. 833. This Nāgāvaloka has rightly been identified with Nāgabhaṭa II by D. R. Bhandarkar.[44] The dates of Bhoja range from A.D. 836 to 883. The reign of the first three kings may, therefore, be fixed between A.D. 725 and 775. The remaining four kings may be taken to have ascended the throne in A.D. 775, 792, 833 and 836 respectively.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

Before the discovery of this inscription, our knowledge of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king, who played an important and conspicuous role in the political history of India from the 7th to the 9th centuries A.D., was meagre and inaccurate. Jackson,[45] Bhandarkar,[46] Hoernle,[47] Smith,[48] and others did the pioneering work, but it was the discovery of this inscription which led to the proper study of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty and finally settled the identity of the kings mentioned in the copper-plates and inscriptions who bore the same names. V. A. Smith has pointed out that "the express mention

39. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 202 ff.

40. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 397-98.

41. K. B. Pathak, *IA*, XV, pp. 141—43.

42. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 199 ff.

43. *Bappabhaṭṭi-carita* in *Prabhāvaka-carita*, edited by Jinavijaya Sūri in the *Singhī Jaina-grantha-mālā* Series, v. 721.

44. IA, 1911, pp. 239 ff; 1913, pp. 57 ff.

45. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, App. III.

46. *The Gurjaras*, *JBBRAS*, 1901—3, pp. 413 ff.

47. *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 639—662; 1905, pp. 1—32.

48. *Ibid.*, 1909, pp. 53—76, 247—289.

of the family name of the kings in the inscriptions helps us to definitely assign the royal dynasty of Kanauj to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra clan."[49]

The unique importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it gives the details of the exploits and achievements of the various kings of the family which no other record does. Thus, a new chapter in Indian history is added by the data furnished by this inscription.

The name of the founder of this dynasty was Nāgabhaṭa who is stated to have defeated the vast armies of the king of the Mlecchas and, in the manner in which this is described, shows that it was looked upon as an event of great importance in the annals of the family. As to the locality over which Nāgabhaṭa ruled, we get the information from the Jaina *Harivaṁśa*[50] and *Kuvalayamālā*[51] which describe his great-grandnephew, Vatsarāja, as the king of the western quarter and Jalor in Gurjaratrā. This view was also taken by Bhandarkar,[52] but he changed it afterwards on the discovery of the Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarṣa which contain the following verses:

हिरण्यगर्भं राजन्यैरुज्जयिन्यां यदासितं ।
प्रतीहारीकृतं येन गुर्ज्जरेशादिराजकं ॥

and agreed with the earlier view of Fleet[53] in regarding Vatsarāja as the king of Avanti (Ujjayinī) in the west.

On the basis of this Dr. Majumdar concluded that there existed a Gurjara-Pratīhāra kingdom in Ujjayinī. This conclusion is questionable and cannot connect Vatsarāja of the *Harivaṁśa* verse,

49. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

50. The verse runs as:

शाकेष्वब्द-शतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां
पातीन्द्रायुध-नाम्नि, कृष्ण-नृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणां ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्ति-भूभृति, नृपे श्री-वत्सराजे(ऽ*)परां
सौर्याणामधिमण्डले जय-युते वीरे वराहे(ऽ*)वनि ॥

51. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 397-98.

52. *JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 421, fn. 4.

53. *IA*, VI, pp. 195-96.

quoted in foot-note 50, with Avanti, where Avanti is the personal name of the illustrious king of the eastern quarter, and Vatsarāja of that of the western. It may also be noted that the verse of the Sanjān Plates quoted above merely mentions Ujjayinī as the locality where the *Hiraṇyagarbha Mahādāna* ceremony was performed, and where not only a Gurjara king, but along with him other kings (*ādi-rājakam*) were also made to act as door-keepers. The passage does not connect anyone with Ujjayinī.

The mention of the capture of the palace of a Gurjara king at Ujjayinī by Dantidurga in his Ellora inscription[54] may point to the fact that at that time the Gurjara king staying in the royal palace of Ujjayinī was probably the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa who was occupying it after repulsing the Arab attack. There is no evidence to show that after him, Ujjayinī remained under the Pratīhāra occupation till the time of Vatsarāja. The original locality of the kingdom founded by Nāgabhaṭa was, therefore, Gurjaratrā, and not Avanti.[55]

Now, to come to the most notable achievement of Nāgabhaṭa I which refers to the crushing defeat of the Mlecchas at his hands. This expedition, no doubt, refers to the same event as is recorded by Bilāduri[56] who says that the Arab general Junaid simply made incursions against Ujjain. This amounts to his tacit admission of the failure of the Arabs in capturing the city. In that encounter, Nāgabhaṭa came out as a valiant hero who saved the land from the depradations of the vandal Mlecchas, Besides this heroic exploit, he established the Pratīhāra power at Broach and also, for some time, at Western Mālava. It may be remembered that several principa-

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54. Here we may refer to Dr. Dasharatha Sharma's papers on *The Original Capital of the Pratīhāras, A Revised Study* (*BV, XVIII, pp.* 74—80, *and The word Gurjara as a Designation of the Imperial Pratīhāras and the Cālukyas and its Significance* (*Altekar Commemoration Volume, Patna*). According to Dr. Sharma, "the original home of the Imperial Pratīhāras was not Ujjayinī but Bhillamāla-Jālor area which had come to be known as Gurjara before Yuan Chwang's time. As the original inhabitants of the land, the Pratīhāras continued to be known as Gurjaras to their contemporaries, even when they had moved away from their original home and established an empire at Kanauj." (*The Origin of the Pratīhāras; A Revised Study, JIH*, XLI, No. 123, Dec. 1963, p. 757).

55. *ASWI, V.*, p. 96.

56. Elliot's *History of India*, I, p. 126.

lities of Rajasthan submitted to the Arabs, but it was Nāgabhaṭa I who succeeded in stemming their onslaught and establishing his supremacy over them.

Nothing is said about Kakkuka or Kakutstha, the elder son of the unnamed brother of Nāgabhaṭa. Devarāja, the younger brother of Kakkuka, however, is credited with having curbed the other rulers by destroying their allies and putting a stop to their free movements. This might be an allusion to some conflict of the Pratīhāras with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies.

Vatsarāja, who succeeded Devarāja, seems to have been a very powerful ruler. Verses 6 and 7 describe him as illustrious like the sun, and as having forcibly wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan and subdued the whole world. According to Shri Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha[57] and Dr. Altekar,[58] this Bhaṇḍi clan is to be identified with the descendants of Bhaṇḍi,[59] who was the son of the maternal uncle of Harṣavardhana. Since this view implies that the clan wielded royal power, it is difficult to accept it in the absence of authentic evidence to prove that the Bhaṇḍis continued to rule over Kanauj till the time of Vatsarāja. Tripathi,[60] on the other hand, equates Bhaṇḍi with the Bhaṭṭi clan whose political importance can be gathered from the Jodhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka.[61] It appears that Vatsarāja attained supreme status in Gurjaratrā by defeating the Bhaṭṭis which is confirmed by the Osiā[62] and Daulatpur[63] inscriptions. Dr. Majumdar gives a different interpretation to this passage of our inscription. He says, it seems possible that Vatsarāja snatched the supreme power from the Pratīhāras of Jodhpur line who sustained serious reverses in their fight against the Arabs in contrast to the triumphant success of the Pratīhāras of Jālor.[64] This, according to his view, may have been

57. Referred to by Puri in his *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 39, fn. 2.

58. *RK*, p. 56.

59. *Harṣacarita*, Chap. V.

60. *HK*, pp. 228-229.

61. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 90 ff.

62. *ASIR*, 1908-9, p. 108.

63. *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 211 ff.

64. *JDL*, X, p. 28.

loosely described as the wresting of empire by Vatsarāja from the famous Bhaṭṭi clan which lived in that region. The Jaina work *Kuvalayamālā*[65] regards Vatsarāja, who bore the proud title of *Raṇa-hastin*, as ruling in A.D. 778 at Jābālipura in Gurjaratrā, the seat of his power. According to the Jaina *Harivaṁśa*,[66] he was the ruler of the western quarter in A.D. 783 and was a contemporary of Indrāyudha of the north, and Śrīvallabha of the south. Curiously enough, our inscription does not mention Vatsarāja's conquest of Gauḍa land with which he is credited in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records.[67] The Gauḍa king who he is said to have defeated is identified with the contemporary ruler Dharmapāla of Bengal.[68] This shows that Vatsarāja was ambitious of establishing an empire in Northern India, and seems to have attained a great deal of success in becoming the master of a large portion of it. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*[69] describes Durlabharāja Cauhān of Śākambhari as enjoying the Gauḍa land. As his son Guvaka I is known to have been a courtier honoured at the court of Vatsarāja's son, Nāgabhaṭa II,[70] it may be reasonably presumed that Durlabharāja gained his renown in the battlefield while he accompanied his overlord Vatsarāja in his expedition against Dharmapāla, and thus having been described as the taster of Gauḍa-rasa (or Gauḍa blood).

Unfortunately, the supreme position of Vatsarāja in the North did not last long; for, we know from a Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription that king Dhruva inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and advancing in his territory as far as Gaṅgā and Yamunā, compelled him to flee to the deserts of Rajputana.[71] This offered Dharmapāla again an opportunity to regain his lost prestige soon after the return of Dhruva from Northern India. That Dharmapāla succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over a considerable portion of Northern India is evident from the imperial Durbar held by him at Kanauj where he installed his protégé Cakrāyudha as a bulwark against the possible

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65. Vide our fns. 30 and 40 *supra*.

66. Vide our fn. 31 *supra*.

67. Wani Dindori Grant, *IA*, IX, p. 158; Rādhanapur Grant, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 238.

68. *HB*, p. 105.

69. Canto V, v. 20.

70. *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 110—30, verse 13.

71. IA. XI, p. 156; VI, pp. 56 ff.

Gurjara invasions,[72] after dethroning his predecessor Indrāyudha who was most probably Vatsarāja's nominal overlord.

This state of affairs did not continue for a long time, for Vatsarāja's son and successor Nāgabhaṭa II proved an equally powerful ruler. He soon embarked upon a scheme of imperial conquest in order to realize the frustrated ambition of his father.[73] The rulers of Sindhu, Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga are described as having fallen into his clutches like moths into the fire. According to Dr. Majumdar, "The force of this simile is preserved if we suppose that the kings of these four countries were not conquered by Nāgabhaṭa, but joined him of their own accord, in the first instance, although ultimately, they lost their power thereby. The position of these countries confirms this view."[74] Further, in Majumdar's opinion, the real significance of the verse seems to point to the formation of a confederacy of these four kingdoms by Nāgabhaṭa against the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Deccan. But, in our opinion, this interpretation appears strained. The plain significance of the simile is that these four kingdoms lost their independent existence and became extinct like the moths which lose their existence in fire. The confederacy idea is at best a conjecture.

The next verse 9 refers to Nāgabhaṭa's victory over the servile Cakrāyudha who was merely the puppet of Dharmapāla. This is followed by a war with Dharmapāla (*Vaṅga-pati*) who was Cakrāyudha's patron. Allusions to this war are found in a number of inscriptions of Nāgabhaṭa's feudatories who must have accompanied him in this expedition, and who also claim their victory over the Gauḍa king.[74a]

Our inscription completely ignores the defeat suffered by Nāgabhaṭa II at the hands of Govinda III.[75] This was perhaps due to the fact that this discomfiture might have occurred in the earlier part

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72. Cf. Khālimpur Copper-plates, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 243 ff., verse 6; Bhāgalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, *IA*, XV, p. 304.

73. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 104.

74. Jodhpur Insc. of Bāuka, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 90ff.; Unā Plates of Avanivarman, *ibid.*, IX, pp. 4 f. and f.; Chetsu Insv. of Bālāditya, *ibid.*, XII, pp. 10ff.

75. Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa, *ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 235 ff.; Radhanpur Plates, *ibid.*, VI, pp. 242 ff.; Pathari Pillar Insc., *ibid.*, IX, pp. 248 ff.

of Nāgabhaṭa's reign and remained indecisive so as not to affect his position in the North very much. This is evident from his quick recovery and the ease with which he defeated Cakrāyudha and his patron Dharmapāla.

Under these circumstances, it appears reasonable to believe that after inflicting defeat on Cakrāyudha and Vaṅga-pati, Nāgabhaṭa transferred his capital to Kanauj; for, his successors are definitely known to have ruled from there. This inference may also be legitimately drawn from Baraha Copper-plates[76] and the *Prabhāvaka-carita.*

The next achievement of Nāgabhaṭa as described in verse 11 is the forcible seizure of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, Matsya and the fort of Rājagiri. According to Dr. Phadke,[77] *Rāja-giri-durga* was an independent fort, and does not mean 'hill-forts of the kings;' for, none of the kings of these countries possessed a hill-fort. The capture of the Rājagiri fort was necessary for Nāgabhaṭa for the defence of his empire. The existence of a hill-fort of that name is vouched by *Prabhāvakacarita* and the Arab writer Al-Beruni.

Very little is known about Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa II. From verses 12 to 14, it seems that the fame and glory of the house was eclipsed during his reign. He was averse to worldly affairs and was anxious to abdicate the lordship of his subjects in favour of his son. The inscription seems to allude to a rebellion of the cruel commanders of his army, which he crushed with the help of his subordinate king. This state of affairs is also reflected in the Daulatpur Plate[78] renewing the grant of a piece of land in Gurjaratrā by Bhoja, which fell into abeyance during the time of Rāmabhadra. The Damoh Copper-plates[79] also point to a similar state of affairs.

Rāmabhadra's son Bhoja, who succeeded him, was a very powerful ruler whose achievements are described in the following nine verses. A clear indication to the Pratīhāra-Pāla struggle may be seen in verse 18 in which the goddess of Fortune of Dharma's son (Devapāla) is said to have become the spouse of Bhoja. The

76. *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 15 ff.

77. *Vide*, No. 26 under NOTES, also fn. 19, *supra.*

Garuḍa Pillar inscription, on the other hand, credits Devapāla with having humbled the pride of the Gurjaras (i.e., Bhoja). As both the parties claim victory, the conflict therefore must have remained undecided. If the reading *bṛhad-vaṅgān* of Hiranand Shastri instead of *bṛhad-vaṁśān* in the first half of verse 21 were accepted then it would mean that Bhoja came in clash with the formidable Vaṅgas and burnt them in the fire of his anger.

After alluding to the Pratīhāra glory under Bhoja, the inscription concludes by saying that the king, Bhoja, erected the edifice called *Antaḥpura-pura* in his seraglio for the Enemy of Naraka.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. ABORI—Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.
2. AIK—Age of Imperial Kanauj.
3. AOC—All India Oriental Conference.
4. ASIR—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
5. ASWI—Archaeological Survey of Western India.
6. Bom. Gaz.—Bombay Gazetteer.
7. BV—Bhāratīya Vidyā.
8. CII—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
9. Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.
10. GP—The History of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, B. N. Puri.
11. HB—History of Bengal, R. C. Majumdar.
21. HK—History of Kanauj, R. S. Tripathi.
13. IA—Indian Antiquary.
14. JBBRAS—Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
15. IDL—Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
16. JIH—Journal of Indian History.
17. JRAS—Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Gr. Brit. and Ireland.
18. NPP—Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Varanasi.
19. RK—Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, A. S. Altekar.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF VĀKĀṬAKA DEVASENA

By Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri*

The Hisse-Borala[1] inscription of king Devasena of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas countries one of the most important epigraphical discoveries of recent years. This is the sixth epigraphic record of the Vākāṭakas of the Vatsagulma branch discovered so far[2] and the only known complete inscription of Devasena himself.[3] Its importance lies mainly in the fact that this is the only dated record of the Vākāṭakas found so far, all the other inscriptions being dated in the regnal years of individual kings. The Vākāṭaka chronology was so far fixed tentatively on the basis of the synchronism between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas established by the Poona[4] and Riddhapur[5] plates of Prabhāvatīgupta, daughter of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya and the dowager queen of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II. By furnishing a definite date in a well-known era for Vākāṭaka ruler, the present record enables us to ascertain the dates of other members of the dynasty more precisely. The date supplied by this inscription may, therefore, be regarded as the sheet-anchor of Vākāṭaka chronology. A short epigraph of just four lines, it registers the construction of a lake, named Sudarśana, by one *Āryya* Swāmilladeva, an obedient servant (*ājñākara*) of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena (in (*Śaka*) 380, corresponding to 457-58 A.D.

The inscription was first brought to light by Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale.[6] But the credit of satisfactorily interpreting the

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2.. Other known records of the Vatsagulma (Washim) branch are the Washim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, the India Office Plate of Devasena, the Ajanta and Ghaṭotkaca Cave inscriptions of Varāhadeva and an inscription of a feudatory of this branch in Cave XVII at Ajanta. Vide V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, CII*, V, pp. 93 ff.

3. The only other known record of Devasena, the India Office Plate (*ibid.*, p. 101), is incomplete.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 5 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 33 ff.

6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. I (January 1967), pp. 1—4.

record, particularly its initial portion, is due to Dr. V. B. Kolte who has edited it independently.[7] The initial portion of the epigraph containing the date has also been studied by Dr. G. S. Gai and Shri S. Sankaranarayanan.[8] There is a considerable divergence of opinion as regards the interpretation of the date portion of the record, and it is proposed here to discuss the question at some length.

That the initial portion contains the date, viz., (Śaka) 380, is admitted on all hands. But as regards its reading and interpretation, divergent views are held by scholars. This is, in a large measure, due to the damage the inscribed stone has suffered at this place. Dr. Gokhale reads this portion as *Sidhaṁ tasya vṛttasya vrā* 20 *Sapta* [*Ṛṣayuttarāsuvaccha*]. .*bda-Śak*[*ā*]*nā*[*ṁ*] 380[9] and proposes to restore the two letters preceding *bda* as *gata* so that the lake was constructed in Śaka 380 expired.[10] But beyond that she finds it 'difficult to offer any satisfactory interpretation of this reading.'

Dr. Kolte reads the passage under review as [*madhyaga**] *tasya* (*vri*)*ttasya vṛi* (or *dhru*) 20 *Saptarṣaya Uttarās-ū*[*pari a* (or *sha*) *] *ṣhṭy=aṁśak*—one 300 80. He divides the passage into two parts, the first part ending with 20. He points out the astronomical importance of Vatsagulma which is just 10 kms. from Hisse-Borala, the provenance of the record, and was, according to astronomical texts like Bhāsakarācārya's *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, Śrīpati's *Jyotiṣa-ratnamālā* and the local *sthalapurāṇa*, *Vatsagulma-māhātmya*, situated on the *madhyama-rekhā* (also called *Laṅkā-rekhā*) or the central meridian joining the Northern and Southern Poles. He renders the portion by "at the 20th circle (latitude) on the central meridian" and takes it as an astronomical reference to the find-spot of the inscription, Hisse-Borala, which is exactly at the 20th latitude on the ancient central meridian passing through Vatsagulma.[11]

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7. In the *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 372–87, and the *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārṣiha* (Marathi) for 1964, pp. 137–56.

8. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. I, pp. 5–8.

9. *EI.*, XXXXV, p. 3.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3 fn. 7.

11. In case the reading *dhru* is preferred, it would mean that the provenance of the record was at an angle of 20 on the first meridian, on the 20th latitude. The conclusion would thus remain unaffected. Vide *Mirashi Volume*, pp. 380-81.

Dr. Kolte takes the second half of the passage to contain the date of the construction of the Sudarśana lake with reference to the position of the Saptarṣis or the constellation of the Ursa Major. According to Varāhamihira, the Saptarṣis were in the Maghā nakṣatra when king Yudhishthira ruled the earth, his period being removed from the Śaka-kāla by 2526 years, and the Seven Sages stay in each nakṣatra for 100 years.[12] Following this statement, the Saptarṣis were in the Uttarā-Phālgunī nakṣatra during Śaka 374—474 wherein falls the date of the record, viz., Śaka 380. Dr. Kolte thinks that the date is specified even more precisely and takes his reading *aṣṭy=aṁśak—one* or *ṣaṣṭhy=aṁśak—one* to mean that the Saptarṣis had passed through 1/16th part of the asterism Uttarā or 1/60th part of the total number of degrees, i.e., they must have been in the Uttarā-Phālgunī nakṣatra for six years beginning from Śaka 374 which gives the date Śaka 380 as specified in figures separately.[13]

Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan accept Dr. Kolte's view that the passage specifies the date in astronomical terms by referring to the position of the Saptarṣis in Uttarā-Phālgunī, but they differ from his reading and interpretation in several other respects. Rejecting the suggestion that there is an astronomical reference to the provenance of the record, they propose to read the passage as *Siddham [Dharmas*] utasya vri(vri)ttasya* 3000 20 *Sapta=Ṛṣaya Uttarāsu Phā[lgunī*]ṣu Śakān[āṁ]* 380. The passage thus refers to the Yudhishthira (Dharmasuta) year 3020 when the Saptarṣis were in Uttarā-Phālgunī and when the corresponding Śaka year was 380. But as according to the commonly accepted interpretation of *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii. 3-4, Śaka 380 would correspond to the Yudhishthira year 2906, and not to 3020 as desired by them to suit their own interpretation, they take *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi* of the relevant stanza of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* to mean 2512 (instead of 2526 as commonly understood) and understand the word *Śaka-kāla* in the sense of the Vikrama era of 57 B.C.[14] And as even according to this interpreta-

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12. आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ।
षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च॥
एकैकस्मिनृक्षे शतं शतं ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम्। *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, XIII. 3-4.

13. The same date can also be arrived at according to the formula given by Utpala for finding out the nakṣatra where in the Seven Sages are in a certain year. Vide *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 383 and note 28 on p. 386.

14. Instead of the Śaka-Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D.

tion the Yudhishthira year for Śaka 380 would be 3027, they separate the word *sapta* from the following *ṛṣaya* and take the former as forming part of the date, i.e., 3027, which would regularly correspond to the Śālivāhana-Śāka year 380, as stated in the record. But in the Yudhishthira year 3027 the Seven Sages were, according to Varāhamihira, in the Hasta nakṣatra, and not in Uttarā-Phālgunī as stated in the record. They account for this discrepancy on the supposition that the author of the inscription followed the *Purāṇic* tradition according to which the Seven Sages were in Maghā when Parīkṣit, Yudhishthira's grandson, ascended the throne after Yudhishthira's rule lasting 36 years. Deducting 36 years of Yudhishthira's rule from the Yudhishthira year 3027, we get the Parīkṣit year 2991 when the Saptarṣis were in Uttarā-Phālgunī as stated in the epigraph. The relevant passage may consequently be rendered as follows:— "(*In the year*) 3027 of the famous Dharmasuta (i.e. *Yudhishthira*) when the Sages were in the Uttarā-Phālgunī (*and in the year*) 380 of the (*Sālivāhana*) *Śakas*."

However, the reading and interpretation suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan do not carry conviction. First, as regards the reading. Whether we restore the three missing *akṣaras* preceding *tasya* as *madhyaga* (Kolte) or as *Dharmasu* (Gai–Sankaranarayanan) is a matter of pure conjecture as the relevant portion is irreparably damaged. In such cases the only scientific criterion to dictate the choice of one reading in preference to the other must be its capability to yield a satisfactory interpretation. But as will be shown in the sequel, the reading proposed by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan not only does not admit of a satisfactory interpretation but lands them in insurmountable difficulties involving several unwarranted suppositions one after another. Their reading of the symbol preceding 20 as 3000 is not borne out by the evidence cited by them. The only argument they adduce in support of their reading is that the same symbol occurs for 3000 in one of the Nasik inscriptions of Uṣavadāta.[15] But a glance at the facsimile of the Nasik inscription in question[16] will suffice to convince anyone that there is a world of difference between the sign for 3000 and the symbol in the present inscription. It must be noted in this connection that the symbol for 3000 in the Nasik inscription (or for that matter anywhere else) does not show any curve at the lower end

15. *EI*, VIII, p. 82, No. 12.

16. *Ibid.*, Pl. V, No. 12, facing p. 82.

of the vertical[17] as does the symbol in our inscription. It should also be pointed out in the present context that the same Nasik inscription also contains the symbols for 1000, 2000, 8000 and 70000; but in all these cases the vertical of the basic sign for 1000 is almost straight.[18] Then again a hook-like stroke appended to the right of the vertical found in the present inscription cannot be accounted for if it is taken to stand for 3000.[19] Thus the symbol in question cannot be read as 3000. Originally, I was myself somewhat uncertain about Dr. Kolte's reading *-śakone* of the three letters followed by the date 300 (+) 80. But a close personal examination of a photograph in Dr. Kolte's possession left absolutely no doubt about the correctness of his reading. An examination of the accompanying reproduction of the relevant portion will reveal that the horizontal top-stroke attached to the right of the consonant denoting medial *ā* and the *anusvāra* are conspicuously absent, thereby rendering the reading of the last *akṣara* in question as *nāṁ* impossible. On the other hand, the top-stroke attached to the left of *n* is clearly visible, so that the letter has got to be read only as *ne*. Likewise, the slight downward curves of the sign for medial *o* attached to the preceding *akṣara*, are also clear,[20] thereby proving the correctness of the reading *ko*. There is no doubt about the reading of the previous letter, *śa*. And once the reading—*śakone* is accepted as correct, the restoration of the preceding two *akṣaras* as *a* (or *ṣa*) *ṣṭhyaṁ*—as suggested by Dr. Kolte would also appear to be very probable, if not quite certain. At least, it satisfies the test of a reasonable interpretation, as shown by Dr. Kolte in his abovementioned paper.

The improbability of the reading 3,000 proposed by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan having been demonstrated, the untenability of their interpretation based thereon becomes quite obvious. And even if we accept, for the sake of argument, their reading to be

17. *Ibid.* Also see Bühler, *Indian Palaeography,* (Calcutta, 1959), Pl. IX, Column IV.

18. *Ibid.,* Pl. IX; *EI,* VIII, Pl. V, No. 12 facing p. 82.

19. A comparison with the stroke for the medial *ā* repeatedly found in the present inscription would show that the rather bold horizontal top-stroke attached to the right of the symbol under study is an irregular stroke. Alternatively, it may be regarded as a crack.

20. The signs for medial *ā* and *e* in this inscription show sometimes, but not invariably, slight downward curves.

correct, the following discussion would reveal the highly unconvincing character of the interpretation suggested by them. It sets at naught some well-established traditional interpretation and involves distortion of well-known facts. The main planks of their theory are as follows:—(i) the use of the Yudhishthira era, (ii) *Ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ*=2512, (iii) *Śaka-kāla*=Vīkrama Saṁvat, (iv) date partly in figures and partly in words, and (v) the reference to the position of the Seven Sages according to the *Purāṇas*. Let us examine these points *seriatum*.

I. *The Use of the Yudhishthira Era*

The learned scholars favour the Yudhishthira era because the 3020th year of the Kali era commencing in 3102 B.C. does not correspond to Śaka 380,[21] the date of the inscription. It must be pointed out in this connection that the Yudhishthira era is not mentioned so early as that either in litertaure or inscriptions. Whether such an era was actually prevalent may justly be doubted. Even Varāhamihira does not refer to any reckoning started by or counted from the time of Yudhishthira. What he does is just to indicate the time of Yudhishthira by mentioning the interval between his rule and the commencement of the *Śaka-kāla*. Consequently, the employment of the Yudhishthira era is not very likely in so early an inscription as the present one.

II. *Ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ*=2512

Bhaṭṭa Utpala takes the expression, *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ*,[22] in the sense of 2526 *(sahasra-dvayena pañcabhiḥ sahitaiḥ ṣaḍ-viṁśatya-adhikaiḥ)*, and this interpretation is generally accepted by scholars. But as shown above, this interpretation does not suit Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan and, therefore, they take this expression to mean 2512. The only evidence they adduce in support of their argument is that Varāhamihira employs the *ka-ending* numerals to denote multiples. Accordingly, *ṣaḍ-dvika*=6×2=12. But this is only partially correct. There is no gainsaying the fact that in Varahamihira's writings we often come across the use of *ka*-ending numerals in the sense of multiples. But it is equally true that there are several examples where numbers ending in *ka* are employed in

21. Śaka 380=Kali 3101+78+380=3559.

22. Occurring in *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii. 3, cited above.

the ordinary sense. E.g., *lavaṇoda-ṣaṭka*=64 (not 4×6=24),[23] *tri-dvika*=23 (not 3×2=6),[24] *sapt-āṣṭaka*=87 (not 7×8=56),[25] *aṣṭa-navaka*=98 (not 8×9=72),[26] *ṣaṭka-pañcaka*=56 (not 6×5)= 30).[27] Thus it is not necessary to take *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* to mean 2512 just to suit the improbable reading, 3000, suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan. Moreover, the above interpretation of Bhaṭṭa Utpala finds support from a tradition recorded in Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*. Kalhaṇa[28] quotes *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii. 3, and states that the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas flourished after 653 years of Kali had elapsed.[29] According to this statement, the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas (including of course Yudhishthira) flourished in 3101 B.C. (Kali beginning) –653=2448 B.C. There is no doubt that the statement of Kalhaṇa is based on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* verse under consideration. Unless *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ* is taken to denote 2526, this stanza cannot be reconciled with Kalhaṇa's statement.[30] If it is taken in the sense of 2512, as suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan, Yudhishthira (and the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas will have to be placed in 2434 B.C. (2512–78=2434). Therefore, the expression under review cannot be taken to mean anything else than 2526.

III. *Śaka-kāla=Vikrama Saṁvat*

The word *Śaka-kāla* is generally taken to denote the well-known Śālivāhana-Śaka era with 78 A.D. as its epoch.[31] But as this meaning cannot be reconciled with the imaginary reading *Dharmasutasya*

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23. *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, ii. 12.

24. *Ibid.*, iv. 30.

25. *Ibid.*, viii. 1.

26. *Ibid.*, viii. 4.

27. *Ibid.*, viii. 8.

28. i. 56.

29. शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले।
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः॥

Rājataraṅgiṇī, i. 51.

30. 2526–78=2448 B.C.

31. According to some scholars, *Śaka-kāla* denotes a reckoning instituted by the Achaemenian king Cyrus the Great or counted from the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. But these views are mere figments of imagination. Vide Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Studies in the Brihat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, pp. 8–10.

vṛttasya 3020 suggested by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan, they insist that the word in question must be taken to mean the Vikrama era commencing in 57 B.C. They base their theory on Utpala's commentary on *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, xiii, 3, where it is averred that the Śakas were Mleccha kings and the time of their destruction by Vikramaditya is well-known as Śaka or Śak-endra-kāla (*Śakā nāma mleccha-jātayo rājānas=te yasmin kāle Vikramādityadevena vyāpāditaḥ sa kālo loke Śaka iti prasiddhaḥ / tasmā=chhakendra-kālāc=chhaka-nṛpa-vadha-kālāt*. Not only Utpala, but Pṛthūdakasvāmin (*circa* 864 A.D.)[32] and Āmarāja (*circa* 1180 A.D.)[33] also make the same statement with reference to the commencement of the Śaka era in their scholia on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka*. The strange notion that the beginning of the Śaka era coincided with the destruction of the Śakas by Vikramaditya appears to have become popular in later times. It is referred to by Alberuni[34] also. But he clearly distinguishes between the Vikrama and the Śaka eras which were separated from one another by an interval of 135 years.[35] When and why this strange notion came into existence and whether the distinction between the Vikrama and the Śaka eras was known to these commentators are questions that do not concern us in the present con-

32. *Śakā nāma mlecchā rājānas=te yasmin kāle Vikramādityena vyāpāditāḥ sa kālo=tyarthaṁ prasiddhaḥ, Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* (edited by P. C. Sengupta, Calcutta, 1941), p. 3.

33. *Śakā nāma mlecchā rājānas=te yasmin kāle Vikramādityena vyāpāditāḥ sa Śaka-sambandhī kālaḥ Śaka ity=ucyate, Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* with Āmarāja's gloss (Calcutta 1925), p. 2.

34. 1030 A.D.

35. "The epoch of the era of Śaka or Śakakāla," says Alberuni, "falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean after he had made Āryāvarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling-place...The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous...and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by astronomers...Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that the Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his." E. Sacau, *Alberuni's India*, ii, p. 6.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in Alberuni's time the Guptakāla also, like the Śakakāla, was taken to commemorate the end of the Gupta rule. Vide *ibid.*, p. 7.



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text. The only problem we must decide here is the sense in which the word *Śaka-kāla* is employed by Varāhamihira. Varāmihira composed his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* in or about the year 427 of what he calls Śaka-kāla. In case *Śaka-kāla* is here taken to denote the Vikrama era, the composition of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* will have to be placed in or about 370 A.D.[37] But this will lead to a serious anachronism. For this work contains a reference to Āryabhaṭa[38] who was born in 476 A.D. and composed his *Āryabhaṭīya* in 499 A.D.[39] We have, therefore, no option but to take the word *Śaka-kāla* in the sense of the Śālivāhana-Śaka era of 78 A.D.

IV. *The Date* (*Yudhishthira Year* 3027) *Partly in Figures and Partly in* Words

As stated above, the Yudhishthira year 3020 does not correspond to Śaka 380, and, therefore, Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan take the word *sapta* following 20 as part of the date, viz., 3027. In other words, the date is expressed partly in figure and partly in words. However, it is pertinent to note in this connection that although innumerable dated inscriptions have been discovered, this strange method of expressing the date is rare in the extreme. Normally the date is given either in figures or in words or both in figures and words, but not partly in figures and partly in words. Consequently this suggestion also, like others, is problematical.

V. *The Reference to the Position of the Saptarṣis according to the Purāṇas*

However, even if we were to admit all these arguments, in the Yudhishthira year 3027 the Seven Sages were not in the Uttarā-Phālgunī *nakṣatra*, as stated in the inscription. Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan try to overcome this difficulty by imagining that the author of the Hisse-Borala inscription specified the position of the constellation of Ursa Major following the *Purāṇas* which aver that

36. *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, i. 8; E. Sacau, *op. cit.*, i, p. 392; ii, pp. 7, 86, 277.

37. 427 V. S. – 57=370 A.D.

38. *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, xv. 20.

39. षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः।
त्र्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह ममजन्मनोऽतीताः॥

the Saptarṣis were in Maghā at the time of Parīkṣita's accesion which coincided with the beginning of Kali. However, that the Kali and Yudhishthira eras were different from each other is admitted by Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan also. As stated by Kalhaṇa, there was an interval of 653 years between the commencement of Kaliyuga and the date of Yudhishthira as given by Varāhamihira. The two traditions being entirely different, it is most unlikely that the author of the present inscription would follow the Varāhamihira tradition while giving the date in the Yudhishthira era and the *Purāṇic* tradition while specifying the position of the Saptarṣis. Moreover, it must be pointed out in this connection that according to the *Purāṇic* tradition about the date of Parīkṣita the Saptarṣis were in Jyeṣṭhā, not Uttarā-Phālgunī. in Śaka 380. Thus it is impossible to reconcile the Varahāmihira tradition about the date of Yudhishthira and the *Purāṇic* tradition about the position of the Seven Sages at the time of Parīkṣita's accession.

It would follow from the foregoing discussion that the views of Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan are quite untenable. While we cannot be sure about the restoration of the first few letters of the initial portion of the inscription, there is no doubt that the reading and interpretation suggested by Dr. Kolte are more probable in the present state of our knowledge. The present inscription is thus unique in that it contains an astronomical reference to the provenance and specifies the date with reference to the exact position of the constellation of Ursa Major.

Before we conclude, attention must be invited to another interesting point. The question as to why this alone of all the Vākāṭaka inscriptions discovered so far is dated in the Śaka era has not been satisfactorily answered. It is very probable, as suggested by Dr. Kolte[40] and Gokhale,[41] that the Sudarśana lake constructed by *Āryya* Svāmilladeva was named after the famous Sudarśana lake at Girnar which had a chequered history of some eight centuries at the time of the present record and has been immortalised by the Junagadh inscriptions of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradaman I and Skandagupta. If so, it is very likely, nay almost certain, that Svāmilladeva, who was responsible for the excavation of this lake as well the ins-

40. *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 377.

41. *El*, XXXVII, p. 3.

cription[42] under study, hailed from Gujarat where the Śaka era had been in use for several centuries. This fact alone would satisfactorily account for the use of the Śaka era in this record as against all other known Vākāṭaka epigraphs which mention the regnal years of the issuing monarchs.

42. Dr. Gokhale and following her, Dr. Gai and Shri Sankaranarayanan think that this is the oldest inscription to refer to the Śaka era by name. But as pointed out above, though the date of this inscription has got to be referred to the Śaka era, there is no mention of the era as such. It will be of interest to note in this connection that a much earlier mention of the Śaka era by name is found in the recently discovered inscription of the time of an Ābhīra king named Iśvaradeva, said to be dated Śaka 158 or 254 (*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1967-68, pp. 18, 52, no. 8). There is some confusion about the date of this inscription; at p. 18 it is reported to be Śaka 158, but at p. 52 the date is given as Śaka 254.

THE BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF EASTERN SIBERIA

By Dr. Lokesh Chandra

Beyond the placid and shimmering blue waters of Lake Baikal in the heart of Eastern Siberia lie the fabled lands of the Buryats, known as the Buryat ASSR and the Chita Autonomous Region. They are the dreamland of a Buddhologist with their richly endowed monasteries, studded with icons of rare charm, replendent with silken scrolls of thaṅkas and stacked with xylographs and manuscripts of historic value—preserved with loving care by the savant lamas under the guidance of the ecclesiastical department of the Government of the USSR. For years on end, we had dreamt of seeing these historic treasures. Long last, in February 1967, Bandida= (Sanskrit Paṇḍita) Hambo Lama, J. D. Gomboev, Chairman of the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR, sent an invitation.

Meandering through different post offices, the invitation reached me on the 10th of April, 1967. I acknowledged receipt of the gracious invitation of the Bandida Hambo Lama and the three-man delegation was composed of Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani, Mr. Kailash Chandra and myself. Various formalities took nearly two months while cables flashed back and forth. Ours was the first Indian Delegation to visit the "closed-door republic" of the Buryat ASSR. Finally, on the 7th of June, 1967 we left by the Aeroflot to Moscow, en route to Ulan-ude. Moscow was exceptionally chilly, but a warm welcome awaited us at the airport where the eminent Buryat scholar Prof. Phurbu Baldanzhabov and two officials from the International Office for Foreign Relations of the Department of Religious Affairs were present to receive us.

Early in the morning of 10th June we left for Ivolginsky Datsan, the headquarters of the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR and the seat of Bandida Hambo Lama, its President. The town of Ivolginsk is about 40 kilometers from Ulan-ude. It derives its name from the Russian *iva* 'willow'. In former times when it was founded by the Russians willows grew here a plenty.

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The Monastery was constructed here in 1948. At the Monastery we were received by the Bandida Hambo Lama, the Deputy Hambo Sibirnov Tsiden, Lama Badmayev Yishidorje, Lama Zhimba-jamso (Representative of the Aginsky Monastery), several other lamas and a large crowd of devotees. We were welcomed with yoghurt mixed honey and other ingredients–corresponding to Sanskrit *madhuparka*. A feast of 'white dishes' of milk awaited us–dried cream of milk called *urm*, a national dish of cherries and butter which has medicinal properties of prolonging life, milk-rice pudding (Sanskrit *pāyasa*) and others. As we sat in the guest room, the Bandida Hambo Lama told us that the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR was headed by him and there were two Deputy Chairman from the Ivolginsky and Aginsky monasteries. The Ivolginsky was represented by the Deputy Hambo Lama and the Aginsky by its Hambo Lama. In the Board there are other learned lamas, layman, scholars and government representatives. After the formal reception, we were taken to the main hall of the Ivolginsky which has the Tibetan name *ri bo dge rgyas bkra śis chos ḥkhor gliṅ*. This name is inscribed on top of the entrance in Tibetan letters. Worship is held in this temple. A special service was conducted in our honour for one hour in full aura of the sonorous instruments. Fifteen lamas took part in the recitation of the *Stotra* to Sixteen *Arhats* and other holy texts in Tibetan. An innovation is the introduction of the recitation of the Pāli *Maṅgala-sutta* because of the several Ceylonese, Nepalese and Cambodian Buddhist leaders and delegations that have visited and continue to visit the USSR. Since the tenure of office by Prof. Malalasekera as the Ambassador of Ceylon to Moscow, the Buryat Buddhists have had intimate relations with Ceylonese Buddhists. Modern Ceylonese and Nepalese prints of dagobas, scenes from the life of Lord Buddha and other Buddhist representations hang at both the monasteries of Ivolginsky and Aginsky. The interior is gorgeously decorated in traditional style. I would like to refer the readers to the photographs at the end of this paper. Out in the precincts are two stūpas constructed recently. There is a commemorative stūpa to the former Bandida Hambo Lama, Venerable Sharapov Yeshedorje. Sharapov is the russified form of *śes-rab* '*prajñā*'. His Sanskrit name was *Prajñā-jñāna-vajra* (प्रज्ञाज्ञानवज्र). The stūpa was completed in 1963 and consecrated as the *Dge ḥdun mchod rten* (the spelling is not certain). The second stūpa is the *Dpal ldan ḥbras spuṅ mchod rten* श्रीधान्यकटकस्तूप or the Drepung stūpa. The Buryats belong to the Gomang yig-cha

of the Drepung Monastery at Lhasa. It is a charming edifice, founded in 1958.

We again went to the central temple on top of which is the *blos bslan gi khan gi khan pa* or the Maṇḍala Hall. It has the architectonic maṇḍala of Śaṁvara (*Bde mchog gi blos bslan*), depicted as an architectural edifice. There were a number of scrolls painted with maṇḍalas, the most exquisite among them was the maṇḍala of *Sarvavid* (*Kun rig gi ras bris dkyil ḥkhor*). Around the *blos bslan* is the library of the Ívolginsky Datsan. It is the proud owner of a rare *Yisün erdeni yin Ganjur or nava-ratna Kanjur*, written in nine inks prepared from silver, mumin, coral, turquoise, gold, copper, pearls, iron and conch. It was scribed about 80 years ago from the Narthang edition. The monastery has the complete set in 101 volumes. The initial folios are miniatured in color with the images of deities. There are several thousand manuscripts and xylographs in Tibetan and Mongolian. They are arranged and kept subjectwise with their short titles written on *kha yig* cloth sticking out. Most of the sumbum (opera omnia) are available in stray volumes. The librarian is a venerable old lama of 80 years, Prof. Balchinov Lobsang-yeshe who is endowed with encyclopaedic knowledge in all branches of Buddhist learning.

In 1956 when the Bandida Hambo Lama attended the Buddha Jayanti in India he brought seeds of the Holy Tree from Bodhgaya. He planted it in a special wooden temple in 1957. It is a glass-house with heating arrangements. Fertilisers have been used liberally. The Bandida Hambo Lama told us with filial affection how he had cared for the Holy Tree which is eleven years old now. He could hardly restrain his overflowing emotions as he talked of the loving care which he had bestowed to nourish the Tree. It was going to outgrow the temple ceiling. To survive the extreme cold of Buryatia it had to be in the warmth of an interior. What could he do for it. A Burmese delegation had visited the temple and they had suggested that the Japanese technique of miniaturisation be applied. The Bandida Hambo Lama desperately wanted me to send a book on this technique. He was also keen to have the seeds or saplings of the sandalwood tree—*candan* is an auspicious tree of Buryat tales and legends.

Like the yurts of old, there were a number of separate house-units for various purposes, e.g. a storehouse for old images, a hall

for preparing baling (बलि), summer house of the Bandida Hambo Lama, a room for heating the central temple through pipes, etc. A new guest-house was under construction. Most of them are simple wooden structures, in vivid contrast to the central temple whose picturesque architecture, sweetly tinkling bells, and melody of colour lends an overall charm and casts an enchanting spell over the entire monastic complex.

At noon, we were given special Buryat dishes of raisins and the plant *saranta* which has a curious taste as if the Indian *khir* and *mohnabhog* had been blended into a single flavor. The milk dishes were served in wooden utensils, and the spoons too were wooden. The milk dishes pertain to the holy and honored. In Indian *homa* also, the utensils and spoons are preferably wooden. The juice of *oblipekha* was served. It is an indigenous Buryat drink from Ayurvedic medicine, a tonic for the lungs. The Bandida Hambo Lama opined that modern medicine should research its properties for heart diseases. Outside, the sky was overcast and a light drizzle lent chill to the breeze. When rain accompanies a guest, it is auspicious, so goes the Buryat saying. The lamas, scientists, officials and interpreters who accompanied us were happy that our visit to the monastery was blessed by rain. The meadows were enlivened by tiny yellow flowers of *nezabutka* or *forget-me-nots*. These innocent flowerings reminded us not to forget the inspiring hours spent at the Monastery. The Monastery ever spreads before our eyes and surges ever anew into the deeps of our soul, as Bandida Hambo Lama's smiling face and humour breaks us into peels of laughter.

Besides the Ivolginsky Monastery there are four other monastries. Guzinozersky is hallowed as the first monastery of Buryatia. It is an architectural monument without any xylographs or manuscripts. So also the Tsugolsky Monastery. In Kiakhta too, there is a monastery which is not functioning now. The Aginsky Monastery is most highly venerated as the former seat of Buryat scholarship and learning which gave to the world scholars like Zamcarano, Tsybikov and Baradiin.

In the afternoon of the 18th of June with a sad heart we bade goodby to Ulan-ude, and left for Chita, the Capital of the Chita Autonomous Region. The Aeroflot plan flew 5000–6000 meters high over the greenly clad mountains. The flying time from Ulan-

ude to Chita is 55 minutes and the fare is 10 roubles. We reached Chita at 6.25 p.m. and had our meals at the airport restaurant. From Chita we left by cars to Aginsky. Charming lakes, like Lake Kyenon, wooden houses of pre-revolutionary days, the majestically flowing River Ingada, the bracing breeze of the taiga forests—made our drive to Aginsky the finest hours of the trip. At midnight we reached Aginsky, dead tired. We were received in national style with yoghurt and honey in silver spoons from silver vessels. Aginsky is a legend for those who have taken interest in things Buryat, in her thought and her deep traditions. All the great Soviet and early Buddhologists enriched science by drawing upon the inexhaustible manuscript resources and unparalleled scholarship of the lamas of this monastery. Aginsky Datsan is the prime place in Russian Buddhological literature. The Bandida Hambo Lama has lived here all his life, studied here for 16 long years, and it is only for the last four years that he has moved to the Ivolginsky Monastery.

At the Aginsky monastery there are two temples. One of them is the historic temple of 1816 and the second was built in 1846. The second temple is situated at a distance from the first, outside the fence of the present complex. Picturesquely surrounded by pines, it is preserved as a monument of architectural importance. Nowadays it is used as a city sanatorium. Though it was built in 1846, it looks older than the functioning temple of 1816 which has been repainted in recent years.

On the morning of 14th June a special Service was held in honour of our Delegation. It was performed in the historic temple of 1816. Its entrance door bore the official Tibetan name. *Chos sde chen po bde chen thun grub gliṅ*. The 69 year old Deputy Hambo Lama Talsan Zhimba Gonchikov presided over the ceremony. About twenty lamas took part. There are nearly thirty lamas at Aginsky, but all could not be present. The Itegel, Sixteen Arhats (naydan), and the stotra to Tsoṅ kha pa from the *megjem* were recited. The serenity, grace and dignity of the worship amidst the clanging assonance of a variety of instruments scatters its illumination into the turbulences of the psyche.

As we came out of the temple the upper part of the innerside of the door was decorated with a lovely scroll of *bskaṅ rdzas*. A large crowd of young and old, children and grownups had gathered outside. Predominantly composed of Buryats, it had a fair sprinkling

of Russians some of whom have deep faith in Buddhism. We went around the temple in *pradakṣiṇā* or circumambulation with the temple to our right. There were a number of isolated shrinelets providing cover to single stone images of deities. One of them enshrined Siṁhanāda Āryāvalokiteśvara under which the mantra *Oṁ āḥ hrīḥ Siṁhanāda hūṁ phaṭ* was inscribed in Tibetan, Buryat and Lantsha scripts. A little further lay a stūpa to the former Bandida Hambo Lama, Sharapov Yishidorje, built in 1963. Moving on, the Bandida Hambo Lama showed us a hundred year old Mañjuśrī a century is a venerable age. A shrinelet covered C aran übgen whose Sanskrit name was written down in my diary by an Aginsky lama as *Bhūmipati Jvarasiddha*. A few paces onwards was Acala Mahākāla (*Mi ryo mgon po*).

At the Aginsky Monastery also, the Bandida Hambo Lama has planted the Bodhi and Banyan trees. They have grown in the warmth of a pyechka or Russian heater, from seeds which the Bandida Hambo Lama brought from India in 1956. The banyan tree is *nayagorda* in Buryat, from Sanskrit *nyag-rodha*. The Patriarch loves both the trees like his children. Thereafter, we were led to the wooden yurt which is the residence of the Patriarch when he comes to his alma mater of Aginsky. To honour a guest in the yurt is a "monument of our national culture". The Bandida Hambo Lama told us of real yurts in the countryside where cattle-keepers live. They have separate winter and summer yurts. He narrated how he had passed his life at Aginsky and how deeply he was attached to this monastery surrounded on all sides by green mountains, and a rivulet that flows by in languid innocence. On 15 March 1967 his 70th anniversary had been celebrated. Every now and then he would roll us into laughter with anecdotes of his travels.

In the afternoon we visited the library of the Aginsky Monastery, situated on the second storey of the functioning temple. A steep and narrow wooden staircase led to the library. In the centre was the architectonic maṇḍala of Yamāntaka. A huge wooden *gaṇḍī* attracted our attention. It was made of *aguru* and sandal woods and was used to summon the people to the temple. All around, texts were stacked in colourful wooden shelves. The Aginsky Monastery has always been famous for its blockprints and they are prized treasures throughout the world of scholarship. To see hundreds of these priceless riches assembled at one place seemed

unbelievable. In passing, we may mention that Lobsang dorje alias Sumativajra, the VII Khampo of Aginsky, wrote many works in Mongolian. All of them have been collected together in a sumbum. It was so popular that two editions were xylographed, one of them at Aginsky. We were able to get this sumbum alongwith its catalogue. There was a 34 folio chronicle of India, Tibet, Śambhala and China entitled *Chos ḥbyuṅ mdor bsdus dzi kṣa maḥi me loṅ zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* There was also the rare Hor Chojung of Dharmatāla in 281 folios. The sumbum of *Śes rab rgya mtsho* in ten volumes, fairy tales in Mongolian, *Yang yig* or manuscripts of musical scores of worship, medical texts, philosophical treatises of the Gomang yigcha and hundreds of other subjects adorn the library. Big silken scrolls of the maṇḍalas of Āryāvalokiteśvara, Sukhāvatī and Akṣobhya decorated the walls. The librarian Lama Zhimba Jamso Erdeniyev is an old scholar of immense learning. He loves the books dearly.

At 4.00 p.m. we saw the breath-taking storage-collections of thaṅkas at Aginsky. At 5.00 we were given a farewell reception by the Deputy Hambo Lama who said: "We are very glad that you have visited this distant corner of the world. We are happy much more so, as you come from the country of the origin of Buddhism. On 7th December 1966 we observed the 150th anniversary of this Temple. May the friendship between India and the USSR always flourish. Our most cherished wish is that there may always be peace all over the world. We wish that you may come here again and again, any time you like. We wish you a happy journey and every success in your excellent doings. *Bkra śis śog.*" At 6.00 p.m. we left Aginsky, with heavy hearts and arms heavier still, laden with gifts of varied description. The maingate of the monastic complex bore the Lantsha inscription: *"Oṁ padmoṣṇīṣavimale hūṁ phaṭ."* The Zulur mountains flanked us on the left while Bandida Hambo Lama Zhambal-dorje blessed our sad, tiresome return to Chita, en route to Irkutsk, Ulanbator, Leningrad and Moscow. We were fast flitting across this remote world of the Buryats, which had rippled before our gaze, to be lost again into looming horizons

THE SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE

By DR. C. B. PANDEY*

The study of Sātavāhana coinage is one of the most interesting problems of Indian numismatics. An attempt has been made in the following pages to study the problems of Sātavāhana coinage.

A—Classification :

The first difficulty in the studies of Sātavāhana coinage is the problem of the classification of Sātavāhana coins. Rapson[1] has classified them according to the regions of the Sātavāhana empire, taking the fabrics of the coins for his considerations. The regional classification suffers from many defects. As regards fabrics, it relates much to the minting methodology, of course, as also on the availability of metals, economic conditions of the empire, and last but not the least on numismatic traditions current in the country. Thus classification according to fabrics is unjustifiable. As regards the regional classifications, the coins found from one particular region have their own speciality. Cunningham[2] devised a way to know the locality of a particular Sātavāhana coin. According to him,[3] the coins from Avanti and Eastern Malwa have their own peculiar characteristics. The coins of Avanti are generally round in shape but those from Eraṇ and Besanagar, are square. Thus on the basis of their circular type, the coins can be ascribed to a western Malwa region. Rapson[4] agrees with him. But the difficulty in the assumption of the above two veteran numismatics is that earliest Sātavāhana coins which Smith[5] published with legend *Raño Siri Sātasa* are found in two metals i.e. Potin and lead, the earlier metal again differs in fabrics. Assuming that Smith's and Rapson's classifications are correct, it is very natural to conclude that Sātavāhana king Siri

* National Archives of India, New Delhi.

1. Rapson, *B. M. C. A. K.*, Introduction, pp. LXX ff.
2. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 95.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.
4. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. xcii-xciii.
5. Smith, E. H. D., p. 183.

Sāta issued coins in the same metal in different fabrics. And this stand is not easily palatable.

The Sātavāhana coins found in Andhra Pradesh have been classed by Rapson[6] in two, those of fabric A, and fabric B. Coins of fabric A are generally round in shape, of almost uniform thickness; and the coin legends have been inscribed with great care. Usually Caitya and Ujjain symbols are found on them. The difference lies only in the way of display of these symbols on the coins. Five kings of Sātavāhana dynasty seem to have issued their coins in this fabric 'A'–(i) Vāśiṣṭhīputra Siri Puḷumāvi, (ii) Vāśiṣṭhīputra Siri Sātakarṇi, (iii) Vāśiṣṭhīputra Siri Caṇḍa Sāti, (iv) Gautamīputra Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi, (v) Siri Ruḍa (Rudra) Sātakarṇi. Of these, the first three[7] have the arched-hills on the obverse.[8] On the few coins of Gautamīputra Siri Yajña almost exactly similar Caitya is found and on the other six-arched[9] hill is depicted. Very possibly a change from three-arched hill to six-arched was made in his time, as the coins are of the same fabrics. The crescent is added to the three-arched hill symbol on the coins of Siri Rudra Sātakarṇi.

The coins of fabric B are characterised by their indistinct legends and ununiformity of their shape and size. Except in the case of Rudra Sātakarṇi the legends are very difficult to decipher. The names of kings which have been satisfactorily read, are given in Rapson's catalogue. They are: (*a*) Siri Caṇḍa Sāti, (*b*) Gautamīputra Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi, (*c*) Siri Rudra Sātakarṇi. Of these two later names are common to fabric A. The coins of this fabric are characterised by their depiction of horse, horse-and elephant, and elephant.[10]

Rapson[11] raised the question of chrono'ogy on the basis of fabric A of the coins. According to him coins of fabric A are earlier to those of fabric B. The first four kings of fabric A can be put in the chronological order. On the Numismatic basis i.e. on the basis

6. Rapson, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. LXX ff.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 115.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 115–117, PL. 6, 117.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 35. P. L. 6. 135.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

11. *Loc. cit.*

of fabrics, the coins of Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi. The coins of fabric B begin their appearance from the time of Siri Rudra Sātakarṇi. It is only in the reign period of this king that symbols on one of the sides of the coins took change.

Smith[12] has noted that either the legends on the coins of this fabric are absent or if at all they are found, they are so corrupt and mutilated and broken that reading becomes undecipherable. It seems that the legend ends in *Tisa* which does not correspond to any Sātavāhana name and therefore cannot be equated with any king of the Purāṇic list.[13] The question of the relative priority of dates of the coins of fabric B has, therefore, to be reconsidered. It may be noted that paleography of the legend seems to be earlier. This point is so important that even Rapson[14] had to admit that because of the broken legend and incomplete readings of the legends on the coins of fabric B, no satisfactory evidence can be obtained. To add, therefore, no satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at the present[15] knowledge of the analysis of the Sātavāhana numismatics. It may be further noted that the coins of this fabrics are not confined to Andhra Pradesh only. They are found even in the far-south with horse symbol on one side of them.[16]

Thus the classification of the Sātavāhana coins on the basis of fabrics has to be more studied. So far Rapson's analysis, though scientific, has not been able to yield satisfactory results.

B—Can the Sātavāhana coins hint to their original home?

On the basis of the Tarahāḷā hoard Prof. V. V. Mirashi[17] raised the question of the original home of the Sātavāhanas and opined that it was in Vidarbha. He referred to another hoard of Sātavāhana coins which numbered only 183 found in the same region in 1888 in a village, the name of which has not been recorded, in the Brahmpuri Tehsil of Chanda District in Central Provinces. Dr.

12. Smith. *Z.D.M.G.* 1903, p. 623.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 625.

14. For detail analysis see Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75.

15. For detail analysis see C. B. Pandey, *Āndhra Sātavāhana Sāmrājya kā Itihāsa*, (1963), p. 184.

16. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

17. *JNSI.* II, pp. 83 ff.

Hoernle[18] examined it and published his report. This hoard contained the coins of Siri Sātakarṇi 51, Siri Puḷumāvi 24, Siri Yajña Sātakarṇi 42. Prof. Mirashi's[19] arguments in the favour of Berar as the original home of the Sātavāhanas can be summed up as follows: (i) Large hoards of Sātavāhana coins have been found in Berar, (ii) According to Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela despatched his army to west in the second year of his reign disregarding Sātakarṇi and reached Kaṇhaveṇā—a fact which plainly indicates that kingdom of Sātakarṇi (which Prof. Mirashi identifies with Sātakarṇi I, the husband of Nāyanikā) lay to west of Kaliṅga probably in Vidarbha. Kaṇhaveṇā of the description should be identified with Kanhan, a tributary of the Waingaṅgā, which flows about 10 miles north of Nagpur.[20] (iii) The case of Vidarbha is confirmed by a Sātavāhana inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in which he is regarded as Veṇākaṭaka Swāmi."

Dr. D. C. Sircar replying to the above arguments said—that (*a*) the coins of the Tarahāḷā hoard and those found in the Chanda district belong to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his successors. They, therefore, do not prove Vidarbha's relations with the earlier kings of Sātavāhana dynasty.

(B) From the line of "Hāthīgumphā inscription" :

दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकंणि पछिमदिसं हयगजनररधबहुलं दंडं
पठापयति कण्हवेणागताय च सेनाय वितासिति मुसिकनगरं

it is not proved that west of the inscription is necessarily to be identified with Vidarbha and not Pratiṣṭhāna, which was the capital of the Sātvāhanas for considerable period. (C) If वेणाकटकस्वामी which refers to Gautamīputra Siri Sātakarṇi can hint to the original home, the phrase नवनरस्वामी which refers to Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi can as well hint to an altogether different place for Sātavāhana home. (D) veṇākaṭaka is in the Nāsik region.

Apart from his convincing arguments of now the Carmichael Professor[22] to smash the case of Vidarbha for the original home of

18. Progs. of *ASB.*, 1893, pp. 116-117.

19. *JNSI.* II, pp. 92—94.

20. *JNSI.* II, pp. 93.

21. Reference is to "Nasik Cave Inscription," no. 4, vide *EP. Ind.* viii, pp. 65-66.

22. *JNSI.* III, pp. 62 ff. also Cf. *Ibid.*

the Sātavāhanas, he has also raised very valid question. Whether the discovery of some coins of the later member of a dynasty in a particular area proves that that region was the original home province of that dynasty? He adds 'If the discovery of the large number of Roman coins in south India does not prove that home of the Roman emperors was in Deccan, if the find of no less than 1,100 coins of Kumārgupta I in Satārā does not prove that the home province of the Guptas was in the Satārā district, why should the Tarahāḷā hoard prove the original home of the Sātavāhanas was in Berar? To add to the arguments of Prof. D. C. Sircar, we may also point to Bayana hoard of the Gupta coins in the Bharatpur district which definitely does not prove the original home of the Guptas as Bharatpur. In fact the finds of hoard however large and numerous in a particular locality should not be stretched too much to prove the original home of any dynasty. The view of Prof. Mirashi is in total defiance of numerous literary traditions both Brahmanical, and Jain, besides a number of inscriptions of early Sātavāhana kings in the western India.[23]

C—Problem of the founder of the dynasty :

By the publication of two coins of Siri Sāta by Mm. V. V. Mirashi[24] and also by Shri Joglekar and Dr. Dikshit,[25] it was held by the numismatics that the testimony of these coins established the fact that there was a king of the name Sātavāhana. Prof. Mirashi[26] held that this king Sātavāhana was the founder of the dynasty which was subsequently known after his name. He further strongly held that the coins of Raño Siri Sāta, which were published by Rapson[27] in his catalogue were those of the king Sātavāhana the founder of the dynasty. In the Koṇḍāpur excavations conducted by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad in 1940-41, a coin of king Sātavāhana or Sādavāhana was found. It was suggested by Dr. M. Rama Rao that "the characters of the legend on the coin resemble very closely those of the earlier known inscriptions of the Sātavāhana family and may be assigned to the third quarter of third century

23. C. B. Pandey, *op. cit., Introduction*, pp. 10-11; Cf. also *op. cit.*, p. 17 ff.

24. *JNSI*. VII, p. 1 ff.; also *ibid.*, XI, pp. 5 ff. PL.

25. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VI, p. 141.

26. *JNSI*. XI, p. 5.

27. Rapson. *BMCAK*, p. 1, PL I. 1-2.

B.C. Since the first king of the family hitherto known has the name Sātavāhana and since his successor mentions Sātavāhana as the name of the family, it may be concluded that this king Sātavāhana was the founder and first member of the celebrated Sātavāhana dynasty. I assign him to 235 – 220 B.C."[28] Prof. V. V. Mirashi[29] also regards the characters of the coins belonging to about the same time as the Nanaghat inscriptions, and holds that 'Sātavāhana, who issued it, must, therefore, be identified with the founder of the so-called Andhra Dynasty.'

It may be noted, as well pointed out by P. L. Gupta,[30] "that much stress has been given to the palaeography of the coin. The attribution of any date to any object on the basis of palaeography is very difficult, as it is too flexible a basis in the absence of any concrete data." Apart from the above argument, the date of Nanaghat inscriptions is not above question. No doubt, the earlier scholars used to assign them to an early date, but with the progress of the studies in palaeography, it has been, and now being, admitted that the date of Nanaghat inscriptions is in the second half of the first century, B.C.[31] P. L. Gupta[32] has offered convincing arguments against Mirashi and Dr. Rao's stand. His arguments are as follows: (*a*) "It is almost definite that the inscription on the coins begin to occur in Ancient India after the advent of the Indo-Greeks on the Indian soil...and the earliest coins are those that have either the names of the cities or of the tribal republics. These were followed by the coins having names of the cities or the republics and their rulers. Then in the third stage we find that the use of the names of city or republic was abandoned and only the name of the king was retained." This means that towards the end of the second century B.C. the use of the king's name on the coins came into vogue.[33] (b) This coin (Koṇḍāpur) was found in association with later kings of the dynaṣty (Gautamīputra and after) "If Sātavāhana was the proginitor of the dynasty, how is it that we do not find any

28. *A new Coin of king Sātavāhana from Koṇḍāpur*, p. 2.

29. *JNSI*. XI, p. 6.

30. P. L. Gupta—*Puñch-marked coins in the Āndhra Pradesha Government Museum* (1960) p. 32.

31. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 189 f. n. I.

32. P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, 32-33.

33. *JNSI*. XV, p. 71.

coin of the rulers between him and the 23rd ruler Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi at Koṇḍāpur?" (c) Invariable appearance of Ujjain symbol shows that the coin in question cannot be earlier than first century B.C. To add to Dr. Gupta's sound arguments, the case of the Sātavāhana, being the proginitor of the dynasty is in total defiance of Purāṇic testimony which unanimously make Simuka, variously spelt as Śipraka,[34] Śiśuka,[35] Śindhuka,[36] as the first king[37] of the dynasty. No doubt the second king of the dynasty has been regarded to have belonged to Sātavāhana family. But who was Sātavāhana is very difficult to identify with any amount of definiteness at this stage of our present knowledge. To identify coin with the legend Raño Siri Sādavāhanasa with the proginitor is, therefore, baseless.

Further the question of identification of coins of Raño Siri Sāta with that of Raño Siri Sādavāhanas is far from being correct. The coins of Siri Sāta are few in number. Only two were published by Rapson in his catalogue. Altekar published two coins from the collection of Shri Braj Mohan Vyāsa, one with[38] the coin legend Siri Sāta, and another[39] with the legend Siri Sātasa. But a careful examination of these coins and of those published by V. V. Marshi shows that there are marked differences in these two sets of coins, the points of resemblance are almost nothing. Firstly, the forms of legends are not similar in both these types. It is Raṁño Siri Sādavāha (nasa)[40] or Siri Sādavāha (nasa)[41] on the coins of Mirashi. Shri Joglekar and Dr. Dikshit[42] read (*Raño*) *Siri Sādavāha* (*na*), while on the two coins published by Rapson, the legend is Siri Sāta on the one coin and Rano Satasa on the other. The same is also on the coin published by Altekar.[43] Shri S. L.

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34. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4–24–43.
35. *Matsya Purāṇa*–272–2.

शिशुकोन्ध्रसजातीय: प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुन्धराम् ।
सिन्धुकोह्यन्ध्रजातीय: प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुन्धराम् ॥

36. *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Anu. Pāda), 99–348.
37. For detail disscussion see C. B. Pandey, *op. cit*,. p. 41-42.
38. *JNSI*. IV, p. 26. PL. II. 6.
39. *Ibid*., IV. p. 28. PL. II. 9.
40. *Ibid*., VII, p. 1.
41. *Ibid*., XI, p. 5.
42. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, VI, p. 14.
43. *JNSI*. IV, p. 26. Pl. II. 6, also p. 28. Pl. IX. 9.

Katare[44] published a coin with the legend (Ra) ño Siri Sātasa, and another he promised to publish with legend Raño Siri Sātisa. It may also be noted that the legend which V. V. Mirashi conjectured to be Siri Sādavaha (nasa) was read by Rapson as Siri Sātakarṇis. Secondly, these sets of coins of Prof. Mirashi and Rapson on close examination reveal that they differ widely in weight, size and symbols, and as well pointed out by Dr. Katare that "except the potin coins of Sātakarṇi, one cannot be placed in the same class or series with any other. They range in weight from 51–9 grains to 211.8 grains."[45]

The fact that the word Sāta is common to both types of coins, led Mirashi to identify them. "Whether this contraction Siri Sāta of his name was adopted by Sātavāhana or Sātakarṇi is not possible to say in the present state of numismatic and other evidence available for the history of Sātavāhanas.[46] Dr. Altekar was inclined to identify coins of Siri Sāta with Sātakarṇi I. The presence of Ujjain symbol definitely points to the same."[47]

D–The problem of identification of kings' names on coins and those in the Purāṇic list.

Apart from the knotty and complex problem of establishing the exact number of Sātavāhana kings of the Purāṇic lists, the historians and Numismatics are not unanimous about the identifications of the kings of Sātavāhana coins with those of the Purāṇic lists. It has been taken by scholars that there were thirty kings in the Sātavāhana dynasty. There is no unanimity in the Purāṇic texts regarding the total reign period of this important dynasty. *Matsya Purāṇa*[48] assigns 460 years, *Vāyu Purāṇa*[49] 411 years, and according to *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*[50] the 450 years is the reign period of the Sātavāhanas. As regards the date of establishment of the empire, this question is also not free from controversy. The settle-

44. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 95-96.
45. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 97.
46. *Loc. cit.*
47. P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
48. Pargiter, *Dynasty of the Kali Age*, p. 37; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 272/16-17.
49. Vāyu Purāṇa, Anuṣaṅga Pāda. 99. 358-9.
50. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4/24–50, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. XII. 1. 28.

ment of this date is essential because this is connected with certain numismatic problems e.g. the problem of identification, of the king Siri Sāta of the coins, of Siri Sātakarṇisa etc.

Apart from the above difficulties, out of thirty kings of this dynasty, coins of a few of them only have been satisfactorily identified. We may take this question in some details. The earliest coins of this dynasty are those, which have the legend Siri Sāta. It has already been shown that king Sāta of Siri Sāta coins can hardly be identified with Siri Sātavāhana, who according to Prof. V. V. Mirashi was the founder of the Sātavāhana empire. It has also been shown above that the coins are definitely earlier on paleographic grounds, but Sāta can well be suggested to be identical with Siri Sātakarṇi II of the line. The date calculated for this Sātavāhana king by Dr. K. Gopalachari,[51] Prof. Yazdarni, and also the present author[52] is somewhere in the second century B.C. This probable date fits very well and is not in defiance to paleographic evidence of the coins of Siri Sāta. It has also been shown that the letters of the coins of Siri Sāta very much resemble the letters of the inscription of Nanaghat. Dr. D. C. Sircar[53] assigns Sātakarṇi and the Nanaghat inscription to the second half of the first century B.C. and quotes for his support refers[54] to the earlier critics. It is interesting to note in this connection that authorities on Indian architecture are now inclined to support the views of the earlier critics who assigned the Nāsik Hall to the later half of the first century B.C." Obviously these scholars who are in the line of Dr. Sircar in this respect are more led by their enthusiasm to keep in their mind the contemporaniety of Sātakarṇi I with Khāravela, rather than the dating of Nāsik Hall (which is very unsound ground), to say less of the paleography of inscriptions for which a margin of 80–90 years is negligible. The learned scholar quoted above may be given a present of the paleography of Mathura Pillar inscription of Candragupta II[55] and that of Mehraulī Iron Pillar[56] with a note

51. K. Gopalachari, *The Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 33 ff. Also his contribution in the Mauryas and Sātavāhanas pp. 301 ff.

52. C. B. Pandey—*Āndhra Sātavāhana Sāmarājya kā Itihāsa*, pp. 27 ff.

53. D. C. Sircar, *Selection Inscription*, p. 191. Foot note 3.

54. Sircar, *Ibid.*, p. 189. f. n. 1. Dr. Sircar refers to *Camb. Hist. India.*

55. Sircar, *Ibid.*, pp. 277-8.

56. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, p. 141.

that the dates and places of both the epigraphs are not far removed in time. Can the peculiar forms of the Iron Pillar suggest much difference of time to that of Mathura Pillar?

No coins of Kaṇha, the second king of the dynasty has been found. The king of coins of Siri Sāta was Sātakarṇi I, has not been finally decided, though majority of scholars are inclined to identify them with him. The question depends upon the date of the foundation of this dynasty. If 235 B.C. is taken as the date, then definitely Sātakarṇi I could not have been the king of the coin of Siri Sāta. It was probably Sātakarṇi II who issued these coins. Some discussions regarding these coins have been made above. Some coins with the legend Raño Siri Sāta have been found in Western India and Malwa region. According to Rapson[57] there is marked resemblance of these coins with those found from Eastern Malwa or Eraṇ region. In support of his view, he quotes Cunningham.[58] On the basis of Cunningham and Rapson's arguments Dr. K. Gopalachari arrived at a conclusion that Sātakarṇi of these coins ruled over Malwa. This conclusion is supported by the coin of Siri Sāta.[59] Dr. P. L. Gupta has reached the same conclusion on different grounds. According to him, the presence of Ujjain symbols suggest the conquest of Malwa by the Sātavāhanas. Rapson may not be quite wrong in his assumption when he suggests that "the use of this symbol on the Sātavāhana coins signifies the conquest of Ujjain, who thereafter performs the Aśvamedha sacrifice."[60] It is a matter to be seriously taken into consideration that it must have taken considerable time for the early Sātavāhana kings to consolidate their position at Pratiṣṭhāna and establish influence over the neighbouring localities, before the conquest of Malwa, which is far removed from the Sātavāhana capital. Further this Sātakarṇi II, the sixth king of the dynasty ruled according to the unanimous testimony of the *Purāṇas*[61] 56 years long, thus having sufficient time to consolidate his position. This date is in conformity with the paleography of the coin legends.

57. Rapson, *op. cit.*, PL. I. Nos. 5–12.

58. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 95.

59. Rapson, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 95.

60. P. L. Gupta, *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Muesum*, p. 33.

61. See *Matsya Pu.* 272. 3-4; *Vāyu Pur.* (Anu. Pada) 99. 350. *Brahmāṇḍa.* 3–74–163.

No coin of Lambodara has so far been found. The coins[62] of Apīlaka are big in size. Dikshit read the legend on the coins Raño Śiva Siri Apīlakasa,' but assigned them to later date on paleographic ground, and also on that of numismatic tradition. Dr. K. Gopalachari[63] controverted Dikshit's arguments and put the reverse of these coins for his support, saying that "there is little difference of letters *Sa,* and *ra* on these coins and those of Siri Sāta. Rama Rao[64] thinks that the coins published in B. M. C. by Rapson[65] with horse facing to right and the broken legend *gha sadasa* are of Meghswati, the Sātavāhana king. Coins of Hāla[66] are also said to have been found. On his coins are Caitya of three thick arches on the platform with a line below and *Tisa* below the platform. On the reverse is the Ujjain symbol. There is another variety[67] of the same king in Kaus collection on the obverse of which are Caitya of three arches with a crescent, also with symbols on either side. The coins of Hāla are not numerous. For long, the coins of Cakora Sātakarṇi were not found. But now his coins are not rare. Dinkar Rao published some potin coins[68] round in shape, with elephant and legend (Rajño) Cakora Sātakaṇi (sa) on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. This leaves no doubt that the coin belonged to the Cakora Sātakarṇi of Purāṇic list of the Sātavāhana dynasty. The coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Siri Yajña have been much discussed and it is not necessary, therefore, to give detail discussion about them. Śiva Siri, the successor of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi in the Purāṇic list issued at least in two different types of coins i.e. the Caitya[69] type and the elephant[70] type. The sub-variety of these types have not been properly studied. Both types give sometimes major part of the legend Raño Vāśiṣṭhiputasa Śiva Siri Puḷumāvisa.

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62. For coins of Apīlaka vide *JRASB* (Numismatic supplement), 1937-38. p. 94.

63. K. Gopalachari, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

64. M. Rama Rao. List of Published Sātavāhana coins.

65. *BMCAK*. p. 28, PL. V, GP 5.

66. *JNSI*. XIII. Pt. II, p. 132.

67. *Ibid.*, XIII. Pt. II. p. 133. PL. VI. 4.

68. Dinkar Rao in *JNSI*. XXI. Pt. I, pp. 18-19, pi. 1—3.

69. *JASB* (Num. Supp.) 1934, p. 61. Cf. also. Thomas in *Ind. Ant.* IX. pp. 615.

70. *Ibid.*, Num. Supp. 1934, p. 61-62, cf. *JNSI* II, p. 88. PL. VIII. 13—16.

Sometimes the legends are broken. The coins of Śaka Sātakarṇi are also in two different types i.e. the lion[71] type and the elephant[72] type, in two different metals—lead and potin. His coins have been found to be invariably square. On the reverse, the Caitya is formed of six arches with crescent above and dots below. Vijaya Sātakarṇi is known from a solitary potin coin[73] on the obverse of which is the elephant to left with trunk upraised and the legend Raño (Siri) Vijaya Sātakaṇisa. Canda Sātakarṇi seems to have been a powerful king. He isssued at least in three types i.e. the Caitya[74] type, the Horse type[75] and the elephant type.[76] The coins of Skanda Sāta,[77] Kuṁbha Sātakarṇi[78] and Karṇa Sātakarṇi[79] are also known from Tarahāḷā hoard only. The later two names are unique. Neither of them can be satisfactorily regarded as Sātavāhana king. The types of these coins show that they were definitely connected with Sātavāhanas. But how they were connected, cannot be said with any amount of definiteness. Similar is the case with the Rudra Sātakarṇi who issued two different types in lead, the elephant[80] type and the Caitya type.[81]

E. *Coins of the Feudatories of the Sātavāhanas*

(a) *Mahārathi Coins*

The coins found from Cittaladurga and the vicinity with common suffix *Mahārathi* are of great significance. There are numerous varieties particularly with regard to adverse and reverse designs. Their greatest importance lies in the fact that these coins bring to light four generations of these Mahārathi chiefs i.e. Sadakana Caṭakaṇha Mahārathi and an anonymous Mahārathi.[82] The

71. Rapson, *BMCAK*. p. 10 PL. III 33 and G. P. 2.
72. *JNSI*. II, p. 92. PL. VIII 29-30.
73. *Ibid.*, II, p. 90, Pl. VIII 22-23.
74. *Coins of An. India*, Pl. XII. 13.
75. Rapson, *BMCAK*. p. 33, Pl. VI. 130, also *Ibid.*, p. 32 No. 125.
76. *IMC*. PL. XXIII. 22.
77. *JNSI*. II, p. 89. PL. VIII 15-16.
78. *Ibid.*, II, p. 90. Pl. VIII 24-25.
79. *Ibid.*, II, p. 91. Pl. VIII. 26-27.
80. Elliot. *Coins of South India* Pl. I. 29.
81. Numismatic suppl. 1934, p. 61, No. 3.
82. *Ancient India No.* 4, p. 291. Coins Nos. 6—14; p. 292, Coins Nos. 16—19.

similarities of the obverse and reverse designs and the common prefix Sadakana and common suffix Mahāraṭhi indicate that these four chieftains belonged to the same family and constitute four successive generations.

As regards the exact significance of the term Sadakana it is very difficult to state with any amount of definiteness. Scholars have tried to equate Sadakana with Sātakarṇi and bring sixth Vibhakti in plural, *Sātakarṇānām*. Similarly it is equally difficult to interpret the word *"Kaḷalāya"*. It has been suggested that *Kaḷa* (*kaḍa*) is a Dravidian word meaning city (Nagar).[83] Even if we accept this interpretation it does not bring us any where. Neither the word "Sadakana" nor *Kaḷa* (*Kaḍa*) brings us to any palpable solution of the problem. Like above, the term Mahāraṭhi is very difficult to ascertain. According to Dr. K. Gopalachari[84] the word 'Mahāraṭhi' of the inscriptions is connected with suffix Mahāraṭhi of the coin legends. If we accept his view, the date of the coins will have to be placed somewhere very near 150 B.C.[85] the probable date of Siri Sātakarṇi, the Sātavāhana king of the coins, and as a matter of fact also of king Siri Sāta of the coins. It has been argued[86] that because the coins bear only the titles and not the proper names, they seem, therefore, to have been issued by some later king of the dynasty. It may be noted that from the point of view of the fabrics and legends these coins resemble those of Cuṭukulānanda and Mūḷānanda. Thus it would be safer to date these coins near that of these Ānand kings, though they may be slightly earlier. Rapson has assigned to a later date.

In any case there seems no ground to doubt that they were connected with the Sātavāhanas. Probably they were the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas ruling in the Cittaldurga region.

(b) *Ānanda Coins*

In 1883 Pearse obtained four lead coins Cuṭukulānanda and Mūḷānanda from Karwar in the north Kannada district. Two of

83. K. Gopalachari—*Early History of the Andhra Country*, pp. 54 ff.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

85. The dates of Nanaghat caves are assigned to the second half of the first century B. C. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 191, f. n. 3 cf. also H. C *Rayachaudhury*, *PHAI* (5th). p. 415 ff.

86. Rapson quoted by Rama Rao, *JNSI*. XVI. Pt. II, p. 200.

these were published by Elliot and all were included by Rapson[87] in his catalogue. Since then, Candravalli excavations[88] have brought many such coins to sight. Dr. Wheeler, the last exacator of the site also published many coins. As regards the date of these coins Rapson[89] considered that these represent later kings, and that Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda was the member of the same family. Rapson also named this family as Ānanda family and held that Cuṭukuḷānanda and Mūḷānanda were not separated by any great interval of time and that the former was the earlier ruler.

The name Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukānanda has occurred in a Banavāsi inscription.[90] If '*Kaḍa*' is taken to be a Dravidian word, meaning city (nagar), Viṣṇukaḍa would mean Viṣṇunagar, and similarly Cuṭukaḍa would mean Cuṭunagar. But apart from the difficulty of identifying such cities in the north Kannaḍa district, this does not solve any problem.

Further, the question is whether Cuṭukulānanda of coins can in any way be equated with Hārītiputra Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda of inscription. On paleographic grounds the coins are earlier than inscription, though paleography cannot be absolutely dependable for such purposes. Due to numismatic conservatism, the forms of letters persist in the subsequent period also. Thus it cannot be said with certainty that Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda belonged to the same family, though the possibility thereof may not be ruled out. A very important thing is gathered from the Mallavalli Inscription[91] that Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda was an officer of Vaijayanti (Banavāsi). There is no doubt that Banavāsi was one of the regional centres of Sātavāhana empire.[92] It is from this *Vijayaskandhāvāra* that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi issued orders for provincial offices. According to Mallavalli Inscription Hārītiputra Viṣṇukaḍa Sātakarṇi and his grandson Hārītiputra Śivaskandavarmana ruled over Banavāsi. In the Inscription Viṣṇukaḍa Sātakarṇi is said to be *Vai-*

87. Rapson, *BMCAK.*, pp. 57–60.

88. Supplement to the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department 1929. Contains report on Candravalli Excavations.

89. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

90. *Ind. Ant.*, 1885, p. 331.

91. *Ep. Car.*, vol. VII, p. 251; *JRAS.* 1905, p. 304.

92. Sircar—*Select Inscriptions*, p. 198.

jayantīpurarāja and *Vaijayantipati.* Possibly shortly after, the Kadambas subjugated this region.

Nothing is known in the inscription about Mūḷānanda. Rapson[93] suggested it to be Muṇḍānanda. His coins resemble those of Cuṭukulānanda in legends, types and fabrics and are found in the same region where coins of Cuṭukulānanda are found.[94] He may be connected with Sadakana Kaḷālāya Mahārathi on the basis of Caitya Tree, though paleographically his dates seem to be earlier. Rapson[95] placed Mūḷānanda chronologically later than Cuṭukulānanda.

(c) *The Kuru Coins*

The coins of Kuru Kings from Kolhāpur also offer numerous difficulties in studies. They represent at least three kings. From the Candravalli some coins of some Kuru ending kings have also come to light. Dr. Krishna[96] obtained one lead coin of Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakuru from Candravalli. Another coin bearing a very close resemblance to the lead coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi found at Koṇḍāpur and other places is in Dr. Wheeler' collection.[97] On this traces of the legend *go tami* and *vi-ya ka* have been read with satisfaction. The entire legend may be reconstructed as *Raṇa Gotami-Viḷivāyakurasa.* Dr. Rama Rao[98] held that this is Sātavāhana coin of the Kuru kings. It may be noted that Caitya is generally found on one side of the lead coins while only the upper portion of the Caitya is seen on potion coins. Bow and arrow are found on the reverse of both the types. These coins give us the following legends of the kings found on them:

1. Raño Vāśiṭhīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa.
2. Raño Mādharīputasa Sivalakurasa.
3. Raño Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakuras.

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93. Rapson—*op. cit.*, p. 84-85.
94. *Loc. cit.*
95. *Loc. cit.*
96. Rama Rao refers to it in *JNSI.* 1954, XVI. Pt. II, p. 199.
97. *Ancient India.* No. 4, Pl. CXXVII Coin. No. 21.
98. *JNSI.* XVI. p. 199.

The relative chronology of these Kuru kings is almost certain. Mādharīputra Sivalakuru has restruck the coins of Vāśiṭhīputra Viḷivāyakuru and Gotamiputra Viḷivāyakuru has restruck the coins of both. They, therefore, can be arranged chronologically as they have been arranged above.

The exact significance of the Kuru coins is very difficult to ascertain. It has been suggested[99] that Kuru is the Prākṛt form of Sanskrit word *'Kula'* in which it would be Bahuvrīhi Samāsa e.g. Mihirkula; and in that case it would be translated as Rājaputra of Viḷivāya or Vilavala family. The word *Viḷivāya* is difficult to interpret. But Sivala has been identified with Sanskrit word *Śivadatta.* Sivalakuru has also been regarded as Swāmi Śakasena of the two Kānheri inscriptions.[100] Bhandarkar identified[101] Sadakana and Śakasena of the coins found in other regions. One scholar[102] has gone to the extent of identifying him with Siri Śivaswāti, whose reign period according to *Matsya Purāṇa*[103] is said to be twenty eight years. It may be noted that the one name Sivalā Devi has been found mentioned in one of Nasik inscriptions.[104] Dr. M. Rama Rao[105] has suggested a peculiar theory though unsubstantiated by any evidence. These were Sātavāhana coins restruck by Kuru kings.[106] If we accept this view, we have also to accept that the imperial Sātavāhanas were once defeated by Kuru kings. This is in total defiance of available evidences and therefore baseless.

Whether these coins are in any way connected with Sātavāhana or they were independent kings who issued such coins? Smith[106] held in this connection that Viḷivāyakuru is a personal name. Bhandarkar[107] regarded that these were the titles of provincial governors who were ruling in the Kolhāpur region. Rapson[108] advocated that

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99. Rapson. *op. cit, Introduction,* p. LXXXXIV-V.

100. Bhagwanlal Indraji, *JBBRAS.* XII, p. 408.

101. Bhandarkar,*Early History of Deccan,* p. 35.

102. *ZDMG,* 1902, p. 662.

103. *Matsya Purāṇa,* 272. 11. अष्टाविंशति वर्षाणि शिवस्वातिर्भविष्यति ।

104. *Cunningham—Stupa of Bharahut,* p. 131.

105. Rao, *JNSI, XVI,* Pt. XX, p. 198.

106. *Smith, Early History of India,* p. 168.

107. Bhandarkar, *Early History of Deccan,* p. 20.

108. Rapson, Ibid., *op. cit.,* Introduction, LXXXVI.

these were titles of the Sātavāhanas kings. According to him evidences are available that Sātavāhanas have used different titles in different regions. Apart from the difficulty of understanding the exact significance as to why the Sātavāhanas were obliged to use these titles and issue these coins for Kolhāpur region, there is another thing which bespeak of the futile stand of Rapson. This is that there is no evidence of Sātavāhanas using other titles in other regions. Over and above this difficulty there is another one that in that case we have also to admit and that these are new names. Sātavāhanas have used their peculiar matronymic titles. Rapson[109] admits this fact and held[110] that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who restruck the coins of Nahapāna and Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakuru[111] are one and the same person. Dr. Rama Rao suggested that the ancestors of the Kuru kings were originally Sātavāhana subordinates and that chieftains of this family become independent after the time of Sātakarṇī IV.[112] He also held[113] that the occurrence of bow and arrow indicates beyond doubt that the ancestors of the Kuru kings were subordinates of the Sātavāhanas.

F. *The dates of the Sātavāhana Feudatory Coins*

As regards the date of these Mahāraṭhī, Ānanda, Kuru and Sebaka coins,[114] a keen controversy has centered round this problem. Rapson[115] placed the Mahāraṭhi coins obtained from Candravalli and included in B.M.C. in about 150 B.C. i.e. to the period of Siri Sāta the third member of the Sātavāhana dynasty of the Purāṇic list. He held that Sadakana Kaḷalāya was the Āndhra Viceroy of a province, that the word Kaḷalāya might well be restored in the Nanaghat inscription as a part of the title of Mahāraṭhi figuring in it, that it is very much likely that Mahāraṭhī of the coins was identical with the Mahāraṭhī of the inscription. He further held[116] that the coins bear apparently a title and not a personal name, that they might

109. *Ibid.*, p. LXXXVII.

110. *Ibid.*, p. LXVII–LXVIII. p. L. 9–253–258.

111. *Ibid.*, p. XIX, pL. 4. 59–87.

112. *JNSI.* XVIII, Pt. 66.

113. *JNSI.* XVII, Pt. I, p. 66.

114. *Mirashi, JNSI.* VII, p. 94; also *Ibid.*

115. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.PL. VIII. Nos. 233-34.

116. *Ibid.*, Introduction. p. lxxiii.

well have been issued by a later member of the same family and that they are closely connected with the reverse type and also with fabrics of the coins of Cuṭukulānanda and Mūḷānanda. It is evident that Rapson's main stand is that Kaḷalāya is a title and not a personal name. This presumption was due to the fact that Rapson had before him only the coins of Sadakana Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi. But subsequently coins of at least four Mahāraṭhi's have come to light. The reasonable inference is, as pointed out by M. Rama Rao,[117] that Kaḷalāya like Cuṭukaṇha and Kaṇha is a personal name and not a title, which Rapson wrongly presumed. Rapson's second misunderstanding was the supposed similarity of the reverse types of the Mahāraṭhī and Ānand coins. But it is unjustifiable, because the reverse of Mahāraṭhi coins bear Caitya and tree while that of Ānandas bear only the tree. Thus, as well suggested by Dr. Rao, Rapson's original ascription of Kaḷalāya coins to the period of Sātakarṇi is more correct.

Mr. Chakravarti[118] opined that Kaḷalāya of the coins is entirely different from the inscriptions and, therefore, he cannot be contemporary of Sātakarṇi I. He must be relegated to a later date. He offers three additional arguments—(a) North Kannada and North Mysore were not included in the empire of the early Sātavāhanas, (b) It was Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who extended the Sātavāhana empire south of Kriṣṇā and it was at this time that the feudatory family of Mahāraṭhī ruled in the North Mysore, (c) The discovery of Roman coin of Augustus with the coins of Kaḷalāya shows that in no case can the Mahāraṭhi coins be dated earlier than first century A.D. The Roman coins must have been current in the country after being introduced in India and this shows that Mahāraṭhīs may be even later. Dr. Rama Rao[119] pointed out that "Mr. Chakravarti does neither take the paleography of Mahāraṭhi coins, nor the number of the generations of Mahāraṭhi chiefs. Four generations of Mahāraṭhis and two of Ānandas seem to have ruled over Cittaldurga region in succession. If they started their rule he argued[120] at the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi,[121] their rule and that of

117. *JNSI.* XVI, Pt. II, p. 197 f.
118. *Ancient India*, no. 4, pp. 21-22.
119. XVI, Pt. II, p. 201.
120. *Loc. cit.*
121. 781 — 102 A.D.

Ānandas would last up to the third century A.D. And this does not agree with the known facts of the post Sātavāhana period." It may be pointed out that no less than eight generations of Sātavāhana rulers are known to have ruled after Gautamīputra, the twenty-third king of the Purāṇic list. If this fact is accepted, it is quite unintelligible why only six generations of chieftains cannot be accommodated in the later Sātavāhana period.

According to Dr. Wheeler the paleography of the coins of Kaḷalāya is earlier than that of Puḷumāvi and Yajña Siri. They were found in deeper layers, therefore the coins are assignable to pre-Puḷumāvī period, though not, in any case, earlier than 50 B.C. He further[123] held that Cuṭukulānanda, whose coin was found in the sixth layer of Candravalli excavations may be a successor of Mahārathi, whose coins are assignable to 50 B.C. on the ground that characters of their legends resemble those of Sāñchī inscription of Sātakarṇi, assigned to 50 B.C.

M. Rama Rao[124] criticised Wheeler and argued that it is proper to compare coins of Mahāraṭhī with the coin of the early Sātavāhanas and not with the inscriptions. On comparison, they stand earlier in date. Another fact is that the expression Sātakarṇi is to be found in the later inscription, whereas the Nāsik inscription of Kaṇha[125] contains the expression *Sāta (da) vāhana Kule Kaṇha Rājini*....and the coins of the founder of the dynasty has the legend Raño Sātavāhanasa." The conclusion he draws is that the form Sātavāhana is earlier. According to him 'Sadakana' is an earlier form and this point to a time earlier than that of the later Sātavāhanas and nearer to that of the early rulers of Sātavāhana dynasty. Dr. Rao[126] further holds that the date of Mahāraṭhi coins can be determined in another way. He emphasises the order of succession of various families in the Cittaldurga region and the number of kings. The stratification analysis of Dr. Wheeler's excavations at Candravalli shows that the Mahāraṭhis were the earliest and that they were followed by the two Ānanda rulers.

122. *Ancient India*. No. 4, p. 289.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 290, also see *loc. cit.* f. n. No. 4.

124. *JNSI*. XVI. Pt. II, p. 201-2.

125. Sircar—*Select Inscriptions*, p. 189.

126. *JNSI*. XVI. Pt. II, p. 202.

The approach of the present author is that it is not possible to bank upon the paleography for determining the dates of these kings, because the form of letters sometimes persist in the numismatics conservatism, specially in the pre-Gupta coinage. The region of these coins i.e. North Kannada and North Mysore was not included in Sātavāhana empire at so early a date. The evidence of coin of Augustus with the coins of Mahāraṭhi cannot be set aside and this has not been satisfactorily answered either by Dr. Wheeler or Dr. Rama Rao. Thus the views of Mr. Chakravarti[127] seems correct that these Mahāraṭhis were the feudatories of Sātavāhanas only from the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

127. *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 21-22, Nos. 6—20.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE AS REFLECTED IN INDIAN SCULPTURES

By B. N. SHARMA*

Religion has always played an important role in Indian life. It affects the people's way of thinking towards every problem, political, ethical, as well as social and creates an environment which might be considered as peculiarly Hindu. Although there were no religious wars as such, it is true that in the history of Indian religion one can find instances which clearly indicate that the people of different sects did have a certain amount of bitterness at one time or the other. At times such a bitterness aroused the enthusiasm of a particular sect so high as to regard their god superior to those of others. There are also definite evidences, both literary and sculptural, which suggest that there were periods when a perfect religious harmony among all the sects existed.[1] Those who emphasised the tolerance went to the extent of propounding the concepts which led to the formation of images in which the different gods were given more or less equal status. In the followings pages, an attempt has been made to show as to how the two concepts of tolerance and animosity in the religious life of Indit their concrete expression in sculptures.

The religious tolerance that existed in India during ancient and early mediaeval period, also found its expression through the medium of syncretistic images fashioned by the artists. Such images representing the blending of different gods and goddesses have been found throughout India. If there is a multiplicity of gods and goddesses in India, it is due not to superstition, but to the Hindu's faith in one divine being, whose energy is manifested in varied forms, creative, sustaining and destructive. Various forms of deities are

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* National Museum, New Delhi-11.

1. Cf. एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति।
अग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः॥ *Ṛgveda*, 1. 164. 46.

See also *Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā*, X, 40-41; *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, 126, 3; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 1. 3, 26-27 and our paper 'Purāṇic Message of Religious Tolerance And Its Limitations,' *PURĀṆA*, Varanasi (In Press).

conceived as aids to contemplation and the several heads and many arms are given to symbolize the powers and functions of the deity. It may be pointed out here that the sculptors in India took delight in fashioning his beautiful creations according to poetic or symbolic description in preference to what he merely observed with his physical eye. Now we will discuss in brief some important syncretistic images, which were more popular in Northern India.

Harihara

Harihara images represent the harmonization of the two important sects of Hinduism, namely, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. The images of this type show Viṣṇu (the preserver) and Śiva (the destroyer) merged into one body, half being 'Hari' and the other half 'Hara'. Such images have been found in all parts of India and show the one half of the head adorned with the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa of* Viṣṇu and the other half with the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* of Śiva.[2] A complete description of such type of images is given in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* :[3]

सार्द्धद्विनेत्रं कनकाहिकुण्डलं जटागुडाकेशखगर्षभध्वजम् ।
समाधवं हारभुजङ्गभूषणं पीताजिनाच्छन्नकटिप्रदेशम् ॥
चक्रासिहस्तं हलशार्ङ्गपाणिं पिनाकशलाजगवान्वितं च ।
कपर्द्दखट्वाङ्गकपालघण्टं सशङ्खटंकारखं महर्षे ॥

Two of the three temples of Harihara of *Pañcāyatana* group are located at Osian (near Jodhpur). The principal back niches of both the shrines possess Harihara images.[4] In an image of the deity from Bihar Hara aspect is emphasised by the sign of *Ūrdhva-liṅga,* though this is not generally found in the images of Harihara.[5] A unique image from the same state shows Harihara flanked by Buddha and Sūrya. This signifies the combination of the four important cults, namely, Śaiva, Bhāgavata, Saura and Saugata.[6] Harihara images come also from the distant East. An inscribed image of the deity from Deopani, and datable in the 9th-10th century A.D. is displayed in the State Museum, Gauhati.

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2. B. N. Sharma, *Roopa-Lekhā,* New Delhi, XXXV, Nos. 1 and 2, 32-33, pl. V.

3. *Vāmana Purāṇa,* 62, 29-30. See also *Agni Purāṇa,* 49, 24-26.

4. *Mārg,* XII, 2, fig. 10 on p. 57.

5. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography,* p. 546.

6. C. Sivaramamurti, *Arts Asiatiques,* Paris, 1954, p. 109.

Epigraphic evidence also proves the popularity of Harihara conception. Sakrāī Mātā inscription[7] refers to the name of the donor as Śiva-Hari.[8]

Harihara-Pitāmaha

To these two members of the trinity,[9] viz. Viṣṇu and Śiva, the third, Brahmā is also sometimes added, and such images are called Harihara-Pitāmaha. Such images can be seen in the museums of Bāḍolī and Ajmer. A magnificent example from Arthūṇā has the bejewelled crown of Viṣṇu on the central head, while the side ones show the *jaṭā-mukuṭas* of Brahmā and Śiva. The arms are lost, hence, it is not possible to decipher the attributes of the deity.

That the cult of Harihara-Pitāmaha was quite popular in Rajasthan during the mediaeval period, is proved by an epigraph which records that a temple was built in honour of the deity at Ghāsā (near Udaipur) in V.S. 1317.[10]

Harihara-Pitāmaha and Sūrya

A nicely carved image showing the blending of the four important gods of Hindu pantheon can be seen on the door-lintel of the main temple at Kirāḍu in Rajasthan. The one-faced image originally had ten hands, of which some are now broken and lost. The objects, held in the hands that have survived, are the two lotuses of Sūrya, the discus and mace of Viṣṇu, the libation ladle of Brahmā and the bow and arrow probably of Śiva; and is flanked on either side by a Naṭeśa figure.[11] Similar images showing four gods in one have also been discovered in other parts of Northern India. The idea behind such images is clearly given in the *Purāṇas* :

ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव वैष्णवी चैव ततनुः।
त्रिधा यस्य स्वरूपन्तु भानोर्भास्वान्प्रसीदतु॥

—*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 106, 71.

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7. V. S. 1156 (A.D. 1099).

8. R. C. Agrawala, *The Researcher*, Jaipur, II, p. 16.

9. Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 1, 19, 66.

10. R. C. Agrawala, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1961; *The Researcher*, II, pp. 18-19.

11. *Progress Rep. Arch. Sury. Western Circle*, 1907, p. 41.

Viṣṇu-Sūrya-Brahmā

Images showing Viṣṇu-Sūrya and Brahmā carved in one single sculpture depict the syncretism among the followers of these three gods. An image was found outside the ancient Sūrya temple at Raṇpur in Marwar, in which the upper part is that of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, while the lower part is that of Sūrya, who is shown wearing the long boots and riding on a chariot driven by seven horses. Similar images have also been noticed at Khajurāho[12] and other places.

Śiva-Brahmā-Sūrya

The Mātājee temple at Bhaval near Mertā in Rajasthan has a six-armed image which carries in the upper two hands lotuses of Sūrya, the serpent of Śiva and the *kamaṇḍalu* of Brahmā. He wears a crown in the middle of the head, while on the two sides the *Jaṭā-mukuṭa*.[13] Another similar image is preserved in the Amber Museum (No. 108).

Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa

A seated four-armed image of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa (showing the blending of Sūrya and Nārāyaṇa)[14] found at Baroda (Dūṅgarpur District) holds a club and a disc and two lotuses, the attributes of Viṣṇu and Sūrya respectively. The boots of Sūrya can also be seen in the image.[15]

Brahmā-Sūrya

A fine example of the Pāla workmanship of the 11th century A.D. from District Dinājpur of Bengal, shows a six-armed deity standing on a lotus and carrying lotuses in the two hands. The remaining four hands show *varada-mudrā*, and a rosary, *abhaya-mudrā* and a *kamaṇḍalu*.[16]

12. S. Kramrisch, *Hindu Temples*, II, pp. 373-4, pl. 5.

13. *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, Western Circle*, 1911, p. 37.

14. In an epigraph of the 12th century, Sūrya has been conceived as the southern eye of Viṣṇu.—*Epi. Indica*, XXIX, p. 82, v. 33.

15. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian Museums, Bombay*, XI, 1955, pp. 21-22 and plate.

16. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 550, pl. xlvii, fig. 3.

Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava

A composite representation of Sūrya and Śiva holding the *āyudhas* of these deities has been termed by K. C. Sircar as 'Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava.'[17] A three-faced and ten-armed image of the god[18] discovered at Manda (Rajshahi), forms a rich collection of the V.R.S. Museum, Rajshahi. He carries two lotuses of Sūrya and *khaṭvāṅga, triśūla, ḍamaru* and a serpent of Śiva. Flames are shooting up from his head and the shoulders.[19] Another equally interesting image has been noticed on the Sāsa-Bahū temple at Nāgdā (near Udaipur). He is seated in *padmāsana,* wearing a crown and an armour, and carrying a trident and a skull-crowned mace of Śiva in the rear hands and lotuses of Sūrya in the front hands.[20] T. N. Ramachandran has also recently published an image of the deity from the Sun temple at Koṇārka.[21]

Supreme Godhead Sūrya

A rare image of Sūrya comes from the Śaiva temple of Harṣanātha depicting not only the Sun as the Supreme Deity, but also Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu as blended with him. The face has the crown of both the Sun and Viṣṇu. The other two heads are crowned with matted locks and represent Śiva and Brahmā. The six supplementary arms carry a trident and a cobra (of Śiva), a disc and conch, the attributes of Viṣṇu and a manuscript and a water-vessel, both of which indicate the presence of Brahmā. Sūrya here as pointed out by H. Goetz, is represented 'as the essence of all the gods.' Thus, it is a remarkable illustration of the religious thought of the Cauhāna period translated in the stone. But equally important thing is that this image of Sūrya was permitted to be set up in a temple dedicated to Śiva and in an area, where Pāśupata influence was quite predominent.[22]

Ardhanārīśvara Śiva

Rapprochment and reconciliation of the two important creeds, viz. Śaivism and Śāktism can be marked into a new syncre-

17. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* VI, 1930, pp. 465—70.

18. 12th century A.D.

19. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.,* pp. 549-550.

20. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian History,* Dec. 1968, pp. 375—78; *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Jan.-Dec., 1965, LI, I—IV, p. 98.

21. See *Bābū Chhotey Lal Smṛiti Grantha, Calcutta,* 1967, p. 104 and plate.

22. H. Goetz, *P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume,* Poona Oriental Series No. 93, 1960, pp. 113-114.

tistic divinity which has the features of both Śiva and Śakti. Not only in the *Purāṇas*,[23] and the works of Kālidāsa[24] but also in the epigraphs[25] of the mediaeval period, detailed descriptions of Ardhanārīśvara Śiva are given. Kālidāsa pays his obeisance to Ardhanārīśvara in the opening verse of the *Raghuvaṁśa* :—

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ॥

—*Raghuvaṁśa*, I, 1.

In such images, the right half of the body is male and the left half female. The dress and the jewelery of the two haves of the deity are also different as they are made to suit a male and a female. A nicely carved out image of Ardhanārīśvara belonging to the later phase of the Pāla art of Bengal was acquired from Purapara (Dacca) and is now displayed in the Rajshahi Museum. The National Museum, New Delhi, has also recently acquired two beautiful images of the deity datable in the 7th-8th century A.D.

Catur-Mukha Śivaliṅga

A four-faced *Śiva-liṅga* discovered from Kalyāṇpur (Rajasthan) shows the figures of Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. It is inscribed.[26]

We may also describe another *Śiva-liṅga* from the Buddhist site of Bodhgayā. It has the figures of Viṣṇu and Bhairava and an inscription of the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla.[27]

Pañcāyatana Śiva-Liṅga

This *Śiva-liṅga* found at Bihār-Sharif and now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is another splendid example of the religious tolerance in the mediaeval period. It shows without any doubt

23. For details see *Śiva Purāṇa, Vāyavīya Saṁhitā, Uttara khaṇḍa*, 4, 10—12; *Śiva Purāṇa, Umā Saṁhitā*, 49, 27—30.

24. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, 1, 4.

25. *Naihāti Copper-plate of Ballālasena, Epi. Indica*, XIV. p. 159; and *Khandelā inscription from Rājasthān, Epi. Indica*, XXXIV, p. 162, vv. 1-2.

26. *Śodha Patrikā* (Hindi), Udaipur, VII, 2-3, p. 5.

27. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (N. S.), IV, p. 102.

that the worship of the five cult deities (*Pañcāyatana-pūja*) existed in Bihar. On its four sides are carved the figures of Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Sūrya and Gaṇapati, which four along with the central *liṅga*, symbolise the cult pictures of the five main sects, namely, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Saura, Gāṇapatya, and Śaiva.[28]

By the 9th century A.D. Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and was worshipped also by the Vaiṣṇavas. The statement is further corroborated by the archaeological evidence. We find a seated image of Buddha outside a Pratihāra temple at Osian, built in honour of Viṣṇu in the 9th century.[29] That the same feeling of religious harmony existed among the Buddhists towards the Brahmanical faith, is indicated by the fact that almost all the Hindu deities like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṇapati, Balarāma, Kārttikeya, Durgā, Yama, Agni, etc. are found represented outside the walls of the famous Buddhist temple at Pahārpura.[30]

The Hīnayāna sect of Buddhism had accepted Brahmā and Indra by their Hindu names in their pantheon, though they were given a lower status than the Buddha had.[31] In a sculpture discovered at Badagāon near Nālandā, Indra and Gaṇeśa are carved flanking the Buddhist goddess Bhṛkuṭi.[32] Still later, when Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna had become very popular, many more Hindu gods were incorporated by them with some minor changes. Hindu goddess of learning Sarasvatī,[33] Gaṇeśa,[34] and the seven mother-goddesses[35] were also taken in the Buddhist fold. The Buddhist goddess Tārā holds a lotus in her left hand and has a calm and serene face like Śrī Lakṣmī, the Hindu goddess of plenty and prosperity. The Buddhists also borrowed many Hindu gods like Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Kubera and adorned with new names like

28. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 545, pl. xlvi, fig. 2.

29. *Arch. Surv. of India, Anu. Rep.*, 1907-08.

30. R. C. Majumdar, *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 330.

31. *Patna Museum*, antiquity, No. 9591.

32. B. P. Sinha. *Bhāratīya Kalā ko Bihār kī Dena;* pp. 138-9.

33. *Nālandā Museum*, No. 20. 850; B Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 150.

34. See the *Sādhanamālā, Baroda*, xli, ii, p. 592.

35. *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 66, p. 115.

Mārīci,[36] Lokeśvara[37] and Jambhala.[38] Śiva's mild form was given the name of Nīlakaṇṭha[39] and the fierce Vajra.[40] The Buddhist images of Siṁhanāda with his hair arranged in *jaṭā-mukuṭa* fashion and wearing a *siṁha-carma* and a cobra is also a somewhat different adaptation of Śiva of Brāhmanism.

Dr. J. N. Banerjea has mentioned a Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara image from Dinājpur, datable in the 12th century A.D. He is standing under the canopy of a seven-hooded serpent, above which a miniature figure of Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha is carved and a figure of dancing Śiva is shown on the pedestal below. Dr. Banerjea opines that this image has got Mahāyāna features, as the way of placing the gadā and cakra on lotuses is found in case of Mañjūśrī and Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara.[41]

How tolerant Hinduism was towards Jainism becomes clear from the fact that like Buddha, the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[42] An inscription of V. S. 1218 mentions Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as Jinas :

> *Oṁ//Svasti//Śriyai, bhavaṁtu vo devā/Vra* (*bra*)*—hma——Śrīdhara—Śaṁkaraḥ sadā Virāgavaṁto ye/Jinā jagati viśrutāḥ.//*
>
> —*Epi. Indica,* IX, pp. 67-8, v. 1.

Jainism incorporated also numerous Hindu divinities, though giving them a subordinate position than of their own deities. The ceilings and surface of the famous Jaina temples at Ābū in Rajasthan are sculptured with several incidents occurring in the two epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata.*[43] Even now, Brāhmaṇas act as priest in various Jaina temples in Western India.[44]

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36. *Patna Museum,* No. 3330.

37. *Ibid.,* 1669.

38. *National Museum,* No. 59. 294.

39. B. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.,* p. 48.

40. *Ibid.,* p. 143.

41. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.,* pp. 554-5, pl. xlviii, fig. 4; *History of Bengal,* I, pp. 433-4.

42. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* quoted in the *Cultural Heritage of India,* IV, p. 134.

43. K. C. Jaina, *Jainism in Rājasthān,* p. 140.

44. The Pahārpur copper-plate inscription mentions that a Brāhmaṇa had purchased some land for the expanse of the divine *Arhats* at the Jaina *vihāra.*—*Epi. Indica,* XX, pp. 67-8.

Though due to the non-sectarian policy of the rulers, people generally lived in harmony, there is no doubt that certain sections of society did not sometimes see eye to eye with other sects. Bhīmāl was a great centre of Sun-worship and was famous for its magnificent temple of Sūrya called Jagat-Svāmin.[45] The Bhnmāl inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja, a king of the Paramāra dynasty, makes Śiva fold his hands before the Sun in adoration.[46] Another Paramāra king Subhaṭavarmana led his forces against Lāṭa and sacked the city of Dabhoi for its riches not leaving even the gold couples of its Jaina temples. In the eleventh century, the Śaivites are known to have ousted the Buddhist monks from their monasteries at Sīrpur (Madhya Pradesh).[47] Religious ill-feelings are also reflected in some of the literary works composed by Indian as well as foreign writers. Such feelings are clearly expressed by Kṛṣṇa Miśra in his *Prabodhacandrodaya,* though he himself was a worshipper of Viṣṇu.[48] The accounts of Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan scholar, who visited Bihar in 1234–36, relate that the Buddhists had put an image of Śiva in front of Buddha's image to protect it from the anger of the non-Buddhists at Vajrayāna (Bodh-gayā).[49]

The Buddhists also criticised the followers of Hinduism and even some of their beliefs like that of bathing at *tīrthas* and also in the river Ganges saying that they had no value.[50] The *Sādhanamālā, a* work of the Vajrayānists, describes several verses mentioning the Hindu deities not only as menials but also as subordinate to the Buddhist gods and goddesses.[51]

The sculptors, under the influence of such antagonistic feelings carved many images which depict the religious rivalry among the sects. In some sculptures, particularly from Eastern India, the Buddhist gods are shown trampling the Hindu deities, both male and female. For example, Aparājitā and Vighnāntaka have been

45. *Bombay Gazetteer,* I, Part II, pp. 473-4.

46. *Ibid.,* p. 474.

47. *Indian Archaeology, 1954-55, A Review,* p. 24.

48. pp. 100 ff.

49. *Bibliography of Dharmasvāmin,* Patna, p. 64.

50. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1898, p. 117.

51. No. XLI, II, No. 260, 263, 264, etc.

shown in two different images as pressing Gaṇeśa with their legs.[52] In another image Vighnāntaka is shown riding on his vāhana Gaṇeśa.[53] A three-faced and six-armed image of Buddhist goddess Parṇeśvarī is shown in the *pratyālīḍha*-pose and keeping her left leg on Gaṇeśa, who is lying flat on the ground.[54] Another image shows the Buddhist god Ucchuśma Jambhala trampling Kubera, the Hindu deity of wealth under his feet.[55] A sculpture from Bihar shows Vajrahuṁkāra trampling Bhairava.[56] A description given in the *Sādhanamālā* about Trailokyavijaya has been beautifully translated in stone sculptures. A three-faced sculpture of Trailokyavijaya from Orissa shows him trampling Cāmuṇḍā and Śiva under his feet.[57] Another equally important image in this category is known by the curious name of 'Hari-Hari-Hari-Vāhanodbhava Lokeśvara,' which shows the Buddhist god Padmapāṇi-Avalokiteśvara, riding on the shoulders of Viṣṇu (Hari) who has Garuḍa (Hari) as his *vāhana,* the celestical bird-man again being mounted on the back of a lion (Hari). The word Hari has been used in three different meanings—Viṣṇu, Garuḍa and lion. In this connection Dr. J. N. Banerjea remarks, "advantage was thus taken of some of the various synonyms of the word *Hari* by the sectarian iconographer in order to formulate such a type of icon in which the principal object of worship of the followers of one of the major Hindu cults was shown as a mere mount of a Buddhist divinity.[58]

The Jainas, too, adopted many of the Hindu gods and goddesses in their pantheon. But the Hindu divinities, who enjoyed a very high status, were naturally given a secondary position in the hierarchy of the Jaina deities. Many of the Yakṣas and the Yakṣiṇīs, who are the mere attendants of the Tīrthaṁkaras, were primarily the Hindu deities. The Dikpālas, Navagrahas and several other *devīs* of Jainism are also a copy of Hindu deities. With a slight change, sometimes their physical features and the attributes also remain the same as those of their Brahmanical counterparts.

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52. H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda,* p. 138.

53. B. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.,* pl. XXXIX, b.

54. *Ibid.,* pl. XXVIII, b.

55. *Ibid.,* p. 115.

56. B. P. Sinha, *op. cit.,* p. 140.

57. *National Museum,* No. 60. 1142.

58. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.,* p. 540.

Among the various followers of different Hindu sects, there was the feeling that their gods are superior to those of the other sects. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* claims the superiority of Viṣṇu over Brahmā and Śiva.[59] Similarly, the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* says that Śiva was born out of Viṣṇu. On the contrary, the *Saura Purāṇa* remarks that Śiva gave Viṣṇu the *Sudarśana-cakra*.[60] A story related in the *Brahma Purāṇa* says that Śiva had swallowed the *cakra* of Viṣṇu and proved his superiority.[61] The *Saura Purāṇa* also speaks slightingly about the non-Śaivas[62] and goes to the extent of declaring that the followers of the sects like Cārvāka, Buddhism and Jainism, etc. should not be permitted to settle in a kingdom.[63]

This sectarian jealousy mentioned in the *Purāṇas* was also expressed through the medium of sculptures found scattered in different parts of the country. For example, the image of Nṛsiṁha (man-lion) killing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu shows the victory of Viṣṇu over Śiva as the former is the incarnation of Viṣṇu and the latter was a great devotee of Śiva. While Śiva in the curious form of Śarabha (man-animal-bird) is depicted killing Nṛsiṁha. Again in the Ekapāda images, Śiva is represented as standing on one leg, while Brahmā and Viṣṇu are seen issuing from his right and left respectively.

Another very important image showing the victory of Śiva over the two other members of the triad is known as "Liṅgodbhava Maheśvara," the detailed story of which is given in the *Śiva, Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas*. The story says that 'Brahmā went upwards to find the upper end of the Śiva-liṅga while Viṣṇu went downwards to trace out its lower end, but neither of them could reach the top or the bottom of the immeasurable Śiva-liṅga. Brahmā seeing no good result uttered a lie that he had found out the top of the Śiva-liṅga and consequently, he was cursed not to receive any worship on earth.' He is not enshrined in separate temples excepting a few like Puṣkara. Numerous images relating this interesting story have been discovered from various parts of the country.[64] Among these, the

59. 1.9.56.

60. 3.6.

61. Ch. 33.

62. 64.44.

63. 38.54.

64. J. Filliozat, *Arts Asiatiques*, VIII, 1961, No. 1, pp. 51 f and plates.

image from Harṣa Hill datable in the Cauhāna period of 10th century A.D. is a great piece of art. Here on the right side of the Śiva-liṅga, Brahmā is shown ascending and Viṣṇu descending on its left side for fathoming it.[65]

In spite of these scattered iconographic evidences that show the religious animosity between various religions and their sub-sects, the religious atmosphere in general was that of peaceful harmony and tolerance. This is why even the outsiders like Alberuni and others wondered at the absence of religious acrimony in India.[66] The people had learnt to live together and also understood the truth in the religious systems of the others. Dhanapāla, the celebrated author of the *Tilakamañjarī* mentions about Malayadevī who adored the Jaina image with *Gāyatrī-japa*.[67] Poet Rājaśekhara was a staunch Śaiva, but from a quotation in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, it is clear that he was not a sectarian.[68] Moreover, the *maṅgala* verse of *Haravilāsa* points out his belief in all the three gods of the trinity. Somadeva's *Yaśastilakacampū* narrates that on suitable occasions Rājaśekhara had done honour even to Jinas.[69] Another Somadeva, a Jaina writer of the tenth century has given several verses, which prove beyond any doubt that religious tolerance existed between various sects.[70]

65. *Ajmer Museum*, No. I (27) 374.

66. *Alberunī India*, Tr. by Sachu, I, p. 19.

67. *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 208.

68. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* ed. Dalal and Sastry, pp. 42, 43.

69. 4th *Āśvāsa*, pt. II, p. 113.

70. निजागमोक्तमनुष्ठानं समस्तयतीनां स्वधर्मः ।
धर्मव्यतिक्रमे यतीनां निजागमोक्तमेव प्रायश्चित्तम् ।
यो यस्मिन् देवे श्रद्धावान् स तं देवं प्रतिष्ठापयेत् ।

—*Nītisūtrāṇi*, VII, 15, 16, 17.

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षरूपसर्वपुरुषार्थफलीदं राज्यम् ।
यतोऽभ्युदयानिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः ।

—*Ibid.*, p. 25.

KING CANDRA OF MEHARAULĪ IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION

By S. S. RANA*

The identity of king Candra of the Meharaulī iron pillar inscription has been a subject of great controversy among scholars ever since the inscription was first published by Prinsep in 1834 A.D. Prinsep gave the name of the king as Dhāva on the basis of his reading *dhāvena* for the word *bhāvena* in line 6 of the inscription, but Fleet[1] and Bhau Daji[2] were of the opinion that the name of the king was Candra. No doubt, there has been agreement among scholars on the name Candra, but opinion has differed on his identity. He is sought to be identified with several kings who have Candra as a part of their name or as an epithet. R. C. Majumdar[3] has identified him with Kaniṣka; H. P. Shastri[4] and R. D. Bannerjee[5] with Candravarman of the Sisunia rock inscription; Fleet[6] and Basak[7] with Candra Gupta I and Raychaudhury[8] with Sadacandra Bharasiva. Some scholars have even identified Candra with Candra Gupta Maurya.[9] All these identifications have been refuted by a majority of scholars who have lately discused the problem and identified Candra with Candra Gupta II.

The controversy was more or less finally settled as can be seen by the contributions of scholars like Hoernle,[10] Jayaswal,[11] D. C.

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1. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 140 (Fleet has an alternative suggestion that Dhāva may be the proper name of the king. —Ibid., p. 142, note 2.)

2. *JBBRAS X*, p. 63 ff.

3. *JRASB* (L) IX, 1943, p. 179. Now he appears to support the identification of Candra with Candra Gupta II. (*Ancient India*, 1952, p. 246; *CA.*, pp. 20-21).

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 367—71.

5. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 315; XIII, p. 133.

6. *Op. cit.*, introduction, p. 12. Fleet has alternatively identified Candra with one of the brothers of Mihirakula.

7. *Histiry of North East India*, pp. 13—18.

8. *Pol. Hist. of Anc. India*, 4th ed., p. 443, note 1.

9. H. S. Seth (*JIH*, XXVI, p. 177 ff.); B. Prasad (*PIHC*, VI, p. 124 ff.).

10. *IA*. Vol. XXI, pp. 43-44.

11. *History of India*, p. 127; *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 31 ff.

Sircar,[12] A. S. Altekar,[13] R. N. Dandekar,[14] R. K. Mookerji,[15] G. R. Sharma,[16] R. C. Kar,[17] Daśaratha Sharma,[18] J. C. Joshi,[19] and V. S. Agrawal,[20] who have identified Candra with Candra Gupta II. But lately Dr. S. R. Goyal[21] has questioned this identity and re-opened the controversy. He has tried to identify Candra with Samudra Gupta. His main arguments are as follows :–

1. Candra was not the proper name of the king of our inscription. He was known as Candra also by virtue of having a moonlike face and his real name was different.

2. There is no indisputable evidence to prove that Candra Gupta II made the conquests in Bengal, in Balkha and in the South.

3. Candra Gupta II cannot be described as having attained the sole supreme sovereignty by his own arm even if we concede that the victories mentioned in MIPI were achieved by him. He must have something much more beyond these frontier battles, to his credit to boast having achieved *ekādhirājyam* by his own arm.

4. On palaeographical grounds the inscription can be assigned to 410 A.D.[22]

5. Samudra Gupta was known as Candraprakāśa also as

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12. *JRASB* (L), Vol. V, p. 413 ff.

13. *NHIP*, p. 21.

14. *Hist. of the Guptas*, pp. 86-87.

15. *The Gupta Empire*, pp. 66–69.

16. *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 202 ff.

17. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVI, p. 184 ff.

18. *JIH*, Vol. XVI, pp. 13–18.

19. *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1–4, p. 69 ff.

20. *Matsya Purāṇa, A Study*, p. 229.

21. *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. LXIX, No. 3, Saṁ, 2021, pp. 261–281; *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 201–209.

22. Here Dr. Goyal agrees with Hoernle and considers the inscription as posthumous.

shown from a stanza in the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* of Vāmana (800 A.D.).[23]

6. The achievements of Candra mentioned in MIPI can be applied to Samudra Gupta and they are a sort of summary of the achievements mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription.

7. So Samudra Gupta is the king of the MIPI, which was engraved by Candra Gupta II on behalf of his father.

The entire thesis of Dr. Goyal is based on the erroneous suggestion of Fleet that "the king's original name was not Candra".[24] Fleet's suggestion is based on the assumption that the original name might have been *Dhāva* (as read by Prinsep) and the king was called Candra because he had the "beauty of his countenance like (the beauty of) the full moon."[25] As a matter of fact what is read as *dhāvena* in line 6 by Prinsep[26] (and accepted by Fleet[27]) is actually *bhāvena,* the lower ends of the intial letter *bha* having joined. The angular left stroke (comparable with *bha* of *bhūmipatinā* in line 6) definitely proves that it cannot be read as *dha* (as seen in *ekādhirājyam* in line 5). There are several instances in this very inscription in which ends of certain letters have similarly met.[28] Dr. Bhau Daji gave the correct reading *bhāvena* as early as 1875.[29]

Thus the name of the king is definitely Candra which must be taken as a proper name and not as an epithet in consequence of *samagra-candra-sadṛśī-vaktraśrī* as alternatively suggested by Fleet.[30]

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23. सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा ।
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ।।
(काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति, ३.२.२)

24. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 142, note 2.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *J. Beng. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 629 ff.

27. *Op. cit.*

28. *na* in *sindhor...* in line 2; *ma* in *mūrtya* in line 3; *pa* in *pte* of *prāptena* in line 5; *ja* in *bhuja of bhujārjitam* in line 5; *ga* in *samagra* in line 5; *pa in praṇidhāya* in line 6; *pa* in *pade* in line 6; *pa* in *sthāpitaḥ* in line 6.

29. *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 63 ff.

30. *Op. cit.*

It is inconceivable that merely an epithet, and not the proper name, of the king, should be put on a record that describes his glorious achievements. And in the verse of Vāmana quoted by Goyal[31] the expression Candraprakāśa,[32] too, is an epithet used for the sake of alliteration. Moreover, it is neither an exclusive epithet of Samudra Gupta, nor found in any of his records. Therefore, the thesis of Dr. Goyal is jejune and not worthy of serious consideration.

Here is some further incontrovertible evidence in support of Candra's identification with Candra Gupta II. We know from his coins and inscriptional records that Candra Gupta II was severally known as Candra,[33] Candra Gupta,[34] Devarāja[35] and Deva Gupta.[36] He was more popularly known as Candra Gupta and this was his personal name. In the Udayagiri cave inscription[37] of Vīrasena he is called *jyotir....Candraguptākhyam* which is very similar to the expression *Candrāhveṇa* in the Meharaulī inscription.[38] The Mandasor inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 524 states that his well-known appellation was Śrī Candra Gupta.[39] The same inscription compares him to the moon in the sky (in the form) of the Gupta family.[40] Further he is compared to a newly risen moon fascinating the eyes of the people.[41] Both these expressions in the Mandasor inscription are almost identical with the expression *Samagracandrasadṛśīṁ vaktraśriyaṁ vibhratā* applied to Candra in the MIPI.

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31. *Op. cit.*

32. Candra is more inseparable from Candraprakāśa than from Candra Gupta.

33. One type of his coins has this name.

34. Most of his own inscriptions, the inscriptions of his successors, the Vākāṭakas etc. give this name.

35. The Sāñcī Railing Stone Inscription of CG II (*CII* Vol. III. p. 29 ff.)

36. Cammaka Copper plate Inscription of Pravara-sena II (*CII*, Vol. II. p. 236 ff.)

37. *CII*, Vol. III. p. 35 line 1 of the text.

38. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 141 line 6 of the text.

39. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 12, line 2 of the text—... श्री चन्द्रगुप्तप्रथिताभिधानः ।

40. *Ibid.*, line 2 of the text—... गुप्तान्वयव्योमनि चन्द्रकल्पः ।

41. *Ibid.*, line 2 of the text—... आसीन्नृप लोकविलोचनानां, नवोदितचन्द्र इवापहर्ता ।

Now with regard to the achievements of Candra Gupta II, the objections of Dr. Goyal are baseless. As pointed out by G. R. Sharma,[42] the war in Bengal was not of Candra's own seeking.[43] He fought against a confederacy of enemies who had joined together to avenge the defeat they had suffered at the hands of his father Samudra Gupta.[44] It is this victory of Candra Gupta II over that confederacy that has been lauded in the first verse of the MIPI.

The Vāhlīka victory of Candra Gupta II has been discussed and justified by several scholars.[45] It is not necessary to repeat the arguments here. Dr. Goyal's arguments to establish a Vāhlīka victory by Samudra Gupta are not convincing. *Devaputre-Śāhi-Śāhānuśāhī* the frontier kings had voluntarily submitted themselves to the Gupta sovereign.[46] There is no mention of a war with them in the API.

Dr. Goyal has rightly pointed out that the statement that 'the southern ocean is still perfumed with the breezes of his prowess' cannot be explained away by a reference to Candra Gupta's matrimonial alliance or diplomatic activities. But he has wrongly connected this statement in the MIPI with Samudra Gupta. We should not forget that the MIPI does not refer here to any of Candra Gupta II's fresh campaigns in the South. The mention is made only of the reminiscence of his valour which he had exhibited during the campaigns of his father. The expression *adyāpi* implies that the memory of that valour still survives (is fresh) in the minds of the southern people even after the lapse of long years.

The doubts expressed by Dr. Goyal about the acquisition of sole supreme sovereignty by Candra Gupta II with the might of his own arms, are also not tenable. The Udayagiri cave inscription of Candra Gupta II expressly mentions that he had bought the earth

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42. *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 202 ff.

43. The expression— शत्रून्समेत्यागतान् in line 1 shows it.

44. The API records the defeat of Candravarman by Samudra Gupta. The confederacy of the enemies against Candra Gupta II might have been headed by this Candravarman.

45. R. N. Dandekar. (*History of the Guptas*, p. 28); G. R. Sharma (*IHQ*. Vol. XXI, p. 202 ff.) D. C. Sircar (*P. V. Kane Vol.*, Art. No. 64).

46. Of API, lines 23-24 of the text.

with the purchase money of his prowess'.[47] Further, it is stated in the same inscription that he 'had set out on world conquest'.[48] The Mandasor inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 524 records that Candra Gupta II 'snatched away the sovereignty of kings by dint of his intellect and valour.'[49] The same idea is contained in the expression *dāsya-nyagbhūta-pārthivā* of the aforesaid Udayagiri cave inscription.[50] The employment of intellect and valour together by Candra Gupta II in destroying his enemies gives credence to the incidents described in the play *Devīcandraguptam.* It appears that after the death of Samudra Gupta, there had occurred some events which disintegrated the Gupta empire and Candra Gupta II had to engage himself in quite a number of battles to consolidate the empire. This fact is echoed in the Mandasor inscription when it says that 'he (i.e. Candra Gupta II) ensnared the earth with bonds of his dynasts, from which she (i.e. the earth) has not yet been able to release herself'.[51]

What else if not these statements are sufficient to give the credit to Candra Gupta II of acquiring sole supreme sovereignty on the earth by the prowess of his own arm? The empire-building activities of Candra Gupta II are clearly borne out by the several statements in the inscriptions.

On palaeographical ground also we are on a sound footing. Hoernle assigned the MIPI to c. 410 A.D.[52] Dani places it in the early fifth century A.D.[53] G. R. Sharma has shown the similarity of the characters in MIPI with those in the Bilsad inscription of Gupta year 96, the Mankuwar image inscription of Gupta year 139 and the Kahaun pillar inscription of Gupta year 141. He places

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47. *CCI,* Vol. III, p. 35, line 2 of the text—... विक्रमावक्रयक्रीता... (भूः)

48. *Ibid.,* line 5 of the text.... कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः ··· ।

49. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 12, line 3 of the text—... भुवः पतीनां भुवि भूपतित्वमाच्छिद्य धीविक्रमसाधनेन ।

50. *CCI,* Vol. III, p. 35, line 2 of the text.

51. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 12 line 3 of the text—... नाद्यापि मोक्षं समुपैति येन, स्ववंशपाशैरवपाशिता भूः ।

52. *IA,* 1872, p. 43. We required only a margin of 3 years to assign the inscription to the time of Candra Gupta II successor.

53. *Indian Palaeography,* pp. 144-145.

the MIPI in the first half of the 5th century.[54] It is inconceivable that the record was put up on behalf of Samudra Gupta after such a long time after his death.

From all that has been discussed above, the identity of Candra of MIPI with Candra Gupta II is established and there is no scope for expressing any doubt in this regard.

54. *IHQ*, Vol. XXI. p. 207.

BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE NĀYAKA POLITY OF MADURAI

By DR. K. RAJAYYAN*

The Nāyakas ruled over Madurai from A.D. 1529 to 1736. Their administration occupies the period between the zenith of Vijayanagar power and the extension of Mughal sway to the far south. Madurai was the southern-most province of Vijayanagar, but it asserted its independence with the decline of the Empire after the battle of Talikottai. Bounded by the mountains on the west and the sea on the east, the territory extended from Kanyākumārī to Kāverī; at times it included Coimbatore, Salem and Tanjore. The capital was at Madurai but the later Nāyakas shifted it to Tiruchirapalli in the interest of security. Founded by Viśvanātha Nāyaka, a general in the service of Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, the Nāyaka dynasty produced a few benevolent and able rulers, of whom the most illustrious was Tirumala Nāyaka.[1] Early in the eighteenth century the kingdom began to decline. In 1736 Candā Sāhib overthrew Queen Mīnākṣī from power and established the Mughal authority.

The theory of checks and balances is a favourite maxim of a democratic government but does not obtain in what the western writers at times call the oriental despotism. Conventions do not command the binding force of constitutional laws. To a large extent the welfare of the subjects depended upon the character of the king. As could be expected, all the Nāyaka rulers were neither able nor responsive to the wishes of the subjects. Did this lead to oppressive rule? Internal dissensions arising out of the struggle with the waning Empire of Vijayanagar, rivalry with Mysore and Tanjore, conflicts with auxiliary powers and the repeated inroads made by the Marathas and Deccani powers rendered the Nāyaka administration a period of tumult and turmoil. Did these developments destroy the foundations of social stability and progress? However their impact upon the polity was at the most superficial. It was restricted to its crest, for it left the main stream of life much unaffected. William

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1. A. D. 1623–1659.

Fullarton, who made a detailed study of political life under the Nāyakas has rightly observed in 1784 that the country had experienced the refinements of civil polity and regulation, suited to its condition, ages before it ever heard the name of the European. The people had their custom as laws, had their own jurisprudence, had evolved an established order and had enjoyed all rights of property. Though the social order had evils as in other societies, the inhabitants had attained and enjoyed a high degree of order, civilisation and material prosperity.[2] The purpose of presenting this paper is to examine what the forces in Nāyaka polity were and how they had balanced against each other in safeguarding popular rights and interests within an autocratic set up.

The working of the Nāyaka polity centred upon a system of balance provided by the princely order, poligari system and village community. In their relations with the people the first was autocratic, the second responsive and the third representative.

The Nāyaka ruler occupied the highest status in the political order. Assisted by a council of ministers, he governed the country and exercised executive, legislative and judicial authority. The separation of powers was not understood. Dalawai, the principal officer, combined in himself civil and military authority. However there were separate ministers for finance, accounts, general administration and foreign affairs. The distribution of executive functions was thus realised but at the most vaguely. The ruler had his own army but in times of emergency he obtained the service of the feudal levies. The sources of income included land revenue, tribute from auxiliary powers, excise and customs. The kingdom was divided into provinces and province into taluqs for the convenience of administration. The high positions in the state were normally denied to the common people, for they were reserved for the members of the royal family. In the absence of set principles for selections and appointments, a complex of strength guided the administration in its attitude towards the people.[3]

Known as poligars and at times as rajahs, the auxiliary chieftains occupied a key position in the political structure between the

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2. W. Fullarton, 13 August 1784, Report to Lord Macartney, *Military Sundries*, Vol. 66, p. 241.

3. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *Nāyaks of Madurai*, pp. 235–245.

prince and his subjects. Were they a class of robbers and free booters? The British administration either deliberately or inadvertently had depicted them as an order of lawless banditry. This characterisation fell in consonance with its established policy of maligning its victim before it did away with it. However, the people held a diametrically opposite view. In 1799, the inhabitants of Rajapalayam in Tinnevelly represented to the Madras Council that when the poligars exercised their jurisdiction over them, they treated the inhabitants with respect and extended their assistance and protection to them. They helped in the settlement of disputes between the people and public servants and obtained for the ryots the Circar's permission for the cultivation of public lands. If the administration exceeded in its demands beyond the terms of settlement, the poligars intervened on behalf of the inhabitants, took them under their protection and forced the Circar to do justice.[4] Adherence to reason and justice by these chiefs in the administration of their territory was indeed remarkable. In Anamalai palayam in Coimbatore the poligar assessed his people nothing more than what he was forced to pay to the Circar as rent, while he himself contented with what he could raise from his own private land, for which he kept 120 ploughs.[5] However, it cannot be denied that there were instances when one poligar or another committed depredations into princely territories, oppressed the people and robbed each other. This was particularly a later development of the eighteenth century. In their bid to mobilise the total resources of the country for their aggressive wars against the Indian and European powers, the English East India Company made exorbitant demands upon the allied princes; unable to furnish them, the latter, supported by the British arm, turned against the subordinate chiefs and in their turn they turned against the villages. This phenomenon in consequence reflected upon the stresses and strains excited by alien sway; for which the English were entirely responsible and guilty. The poligars in fact rendered an inestimable service to the community. Regularised in their possession of territories, called palayams, by the sovereigns of Vijayanagar, these chiefs assumed a constitutional responsibility as a second line of defence against external aggression and as guardians of public order and peace against internal commotions. They paid rent to the ruler for their lands and maintained bands of armed men for service with the troops of the state in critical times. They

4. *Board of Revenue*, 14 January 1799, Proceedings, Vol. 217, p. 374.
5. *Ibid.*, 22 May 1797, Vol. 178, p. 2921.

assumed responsibility to protect private property against robbery and to pay compensation in the event of their failure.[6] Guardians of public welfare, they enforced police authority, administered justice, founded villages, conducted religious festivals, maintained temples, promoted cultivation and undertook charitable activities.[7] As intermediaries they did what the rulers normally neglected to do in promoting public welfare. While the common people found it beyond their reach to obtain positions in the central administration, they experienced no such difficulty in the poligari establishments. This created and nurtured a bond of affnity between the poligars and the masses.

The working of the village communities ensured to the inhabitants the basic requirements, primarily local, at a time when life had not become sophisticated, what they felt essential for the promotion of their well being. Presided over by a headman called patel or maccadam, the village had its own local assembly and administrative establishment. All land-holders or all communal heads sat in the assembly as its members. The administrative establishment consisted of village guard, local jury, revenue-peons, accountants and scavengers. The village guards, known as *kavalkars,* paid by the community, kept watch at night, noted all arrivals and departures, observed the movements of the strangers and reported all suspects to the patel. They traced culprits, keeping track of their footprints. If the stolen property could not be recovered, the village community paid compensation to the victim of robbery, as the poligars did, either by a levy on the village guards or on all members of the community.[8] The local jury called the panchāyat settled the disputes, generally through arbitration and occasionally by verdict. The revenue-peons of the village collected the taxes, assessed by the Circar for the village, remitted the amount to the public treasury and kept the residents regularly informed about rules, issued by the Circar from time to time. Endowed with its own revenue, levied on harvests, the village administration regulated the distribution of water for irrigation, kept the village-streets clean, looked after the welfare of travellers and conducted public festi-

6. *Madras ,Council,* 4 September 1799, Revenue Consultations, Vol. 97, p. 2246.

7. B. S. Ward, *Memoir on Madura and Dindigul,* Vol. 3, pp. 68–72.

8. K. Rajayyan, *Administration and Society in the Carnatic,* pp. 93-94.

vals.[9] In fact, the village communities combined in themselves social welfare policy with republican and representative principles. The inhabitants whose interests were limited and needs local appeared to have remained indifferent to the political convulsions, so long as the autonomy of their villages was left undisturbed.

The integration of the *kaval* system of the villages with the poligari system not only strengthened the bond of unity between the two institutions but accorded recognition to the poligars as the accepted leaders of the villages. From time immemorial every village had its local police called *kaval* or watch. Whenever disorders engulfed the established order and rendered the task of the village communities in keeping law and peace quite onerous, the villages appealed to the poligars for protection. These chieftains assumed control of *kaval*; they appointed the village guards or appointed their own servants and restored peace. In return for this service and the continued performance of this duty, the communities paid them a voluntary but nominal contribution called *deśa-kaval*. The assumption of this responsibility, on the one hand, guaranteed the stability of village communities and on the other, vastly enhanced the influence of the poligars.[10] The combination of the spirit of independence of the poligars and the principle of representation of the village communities on the one hand imparted a fresh vigour to political stability at the popular level and on the other, strengthened the people's will to fight any encroach ment, made by the central administration upon what they consider ed as their traditional spheres of activity.

The aggressive policy pursued by the powers of the north presented a constant threat of external intervention and the consequent spread of anarchy. However, a sharing of military responsibility, with the anciliary powers, as provided by the Nāyaka policy, enabled it to cope with the situation for long. The king maintained his own armed forces and permitted by him the poligars enlisted into their service such number of armed men as they could support with one third of their revenue. While the central authority provided for the first line of defence, the local powers furnished to the land a second line of defence. In times of war the king's troops engaged the

9. *Selections from the Records of Fort St. George*, 13 May 1815, No. 2.

10. K. Rajayyan. *Administration and Society in the Carnatic*, pp. 67-68.

hostile forces while the poligars supported law and order. In times of emergency the ruler obtained the services of the troops of the poligars too, as Tirumala Nāyaka did; in which event the responsibility for maintaining law and order devolved upon the village communities. Thus the Nāyaka policy was geared to the needs of defence, though it cannot be denied that the presence of subordinated military establishments presented a threat to the central authority too. In 1736 the Nāyakas ceased to be a political force, yet the resistance by the poligars appeared so formidable that the Nawab of Arcot found it impossible to assert his sway. It was not until he brought in the British forces to his rescue that he succeeded in the suppression of these auxiliary powers.

What served as a corrective to the evils of autocracy and the anomalies of princely administration was the mutual restriction imposed upon each other by the parallel working of the princely order, poligari system and the village communities. All these institutions had their own independent sources of revenue. Centred upon agriculture and inflexible as these sources were, any excess committed by the one agency marked an overt or covert encroachment upon the sources of other political institutions. This excited a natural reaction. The king or the poligar collected a proportion ranging up to fifty per cent of the produce as public share after making a deduction of five per cent to provide for the expenses of harvest, while the villages claimed twenty per cent as their share.[11] As the village communities were of the people, it was beyond their scope to increase their share except with the consent of the ryots. On the other hand if any of the other powers exceeded in their demands it was open to the villages to seek the support of the one or the other or to offer passive resistance like the neglect of cultivation or evasion of payments through co-operative endeavour.[12] This competitive existence of the political forces, however, did not lead to conflict thanks to the significance attached to the observation of custom or *mamool*, for, unwritten laws, sanctified by tradition, precedents and long usage, regulated their mutual relations with the inhabitants. J. Hodgeson in his report on Tinnevelly has categorically asserted that the poligars considered themselves as the defenders of custom and they remained loyal to

11. *Selections from the Records of the Collectorate of Trichinopoly*, 1867, p. 34 and S. S. Raghavaingar, *Progress of the Madras Presidency*, pp. 20-21.

12. *Revenue Consultations*, Madras, 4 September 1799, Vol. 96, p. 1765.

the ruler to the extent that the ruler remained loyal to custom.[13] In spite of this as the central government appeared powerful, it found it possible to violate the custom and practice oppression But this was balanced by a strong bond of union that developed between the poligars and the village communities. Ryots among the ryots and leaders of armed men, furnished by the villages, the poligars shared in the vicissitudes of fortune with the common people. This promoted an affinity of great importance. As the English had admitted, the poligars extended their protection to the victims of princely oppression[14] and the inhabitants looked upon them as the protectors of the defenceless cultivators.[15] If the inhabitants were subjected to repression by the administration, the poligars represented the local grievances to the king, for which they stationed their representatives called the *stanapatis* in the court and if no redressal could be had, they guided the inhabitants in their subsequent dealings with the Circar.[16]

It may be incorrect to consider that the distribution of powers and responsibilities among the prince, the poligars and the village communities represented the working of a form of federalism. The system lacked defined jurisdictions, peaceful settlement of conflicts and universal applicability. Yet by and large while the ruler assumed the responsibility of defence and general administration, the poligars the preservation of law and order and the village communities the promotion of economic welfare and cultural pursuits. Thus they complemented each other. This policy based upon a vague division of powers, a system of balances and a compromise of autocratic institutions at the summit with the representative institutions at the bottom offered no alternative to that based upon democratic principles, but in the absence of anything better it went a long way in safeguarding the rights and promoting the interests of the individuals.

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13. J. Hodgeson, *Report on Tinnevelly*, p. 22.
14. *Revenue Consultations*, Madras, 24 July 1801, Vol. 110, pp. 1405–6.
15. *Military Consultations*, Madras, 27 August 1799, Vol. 257, p. 5678.
16. *Revenue Consultations*, Madras, 24 July 1801, Vol. 110, pp. 1405–7.

RECOGNITION OF MERIT IN CASTE SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA

By DR. JOGIRAJ BASU*

Grave injustice has been done to the much-maligned caste system by most of the eastern and western critics, sociologists and historians who are blind to the fact that merit was always given due recognition in caste system in ancient India. If a man of the lower caste or mixed caste happened to possess the wisdom of the brahmins, if he was highly enlightened he was held in esteem by the brahmanical class even. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Ṛgveda* thus records the anecdote of Kavaṣa son of Īlūṣa (ईलूष) 'In the days of yore, the sages attended a sessional sacrifice called 'Satra' performed on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. Finding in their midst Kavaṣa, son of Īlūṣa who was a bastard born of a maid-servant (*dāsī-putra*) the sages mused thus, 'How could this bastard born of a maid-servant, a cheat who is not a brahmin be initiated into the Sacrifice with us.'[1] Musing thus the sages expelled him from the sacrificial campus of the Soma-Yāga and transported him to a land far away from the river Sarasvatī where no water was available so that he might die of thirst. But Kavaṣa was granted the vision of the Vedic hymn called *Āponaptrīya-Sūkta*[2] and chanting that hymn, he gained the favour of water-goddess; the river Sarasvatī began to flow on all four sides of him. Then the sages who externed him ruthlessly were sorry for their hasty act. They called him back and accepted him as one of their colleagues. Another Brāhmaṇa text of the *Ṛgveda*, the *Kauṣītaki*, also recounts the same narrative with slight variations. 'The sages said to Kavaṣa "You are a bastard born of maid-servant; we shall not dine with you." Kavaṣa became angry and propitiated goddess Sarasvatī with his hymn. Then the sages considered him as shorn of sin and made obeisance to him saying, —'O Seer, we bow down to you; please do not bear any malice towards us; you are superior to us as Sarasvatī follows after thee." Thus they appeased his wrath.'

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1. *Ait. B.*, 2—8—1.

2. *Ṛgveda*, X—30.

These texts of the *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki* brāhmaṇas merit great importance as they categorically prove that the Vedic hymns were seen by sages of lower castes as well, and that brahmins representing the topmost rung in the social hierarchy admitted the superiority of and paid regards to such enlightened souls. Kavaṣa was addressed as a ṛṣi by the priests. Thus we find that learning or enlightenment could wipe out the barrier of caste, and obtain due recognition. The name of Mahidāsa, the author of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* a Vedic text, is another illustration in point. A controversy rages round his name as to whether Mahidāsa was a Śūdra. His birth and the traditional story concerning his parentage bear testimony to his belonging to the Śūdra caste. His mother's name was Itarā, a tell-tale name, and his father had other sons by his other wives as well. His father lavished all his affection on his other sons whereas Mahidāsa was shabbily treated. From the differential treatment of the father, from the name of the mother and Śūdra-like name of Mahidāsa having the word *'dāsa'* suffixed, many scholars of the East and the West headed by the erudite Indian Vedic scholar of name and fame Satyavrata Sāmaśramī arrive at the conclusion that Mahidāsa's mother belonged to the Śūdra community. Observes Sāmaśramī in his famous and scholarly work *Aitareyālocanam* : 'That he (Mahidāsa) was born of a female servant (Dāsī) is an established fact; not to speak of the authorship of a brāhmaṇa text, even vision (authorship) of Vedic hymn (mantra) is ascribed to a son of maid-servant (*Dāsi-puttra*)' :

'Sidhyatyeva Mahidāsasya Dāsīputratvam...mantradraṣṭṛtvamapi jñāyate dāsīputrasyāpīti.'[3] Sāmaśramī cites the ancedote of Kavaṣa to bear out his contention regarding revelation of Vedic hymn through a person belonging to a low caste.

In this recognition of merit of the enlightened souls one can trace the origin of upgrading of caste through knowledge and illumination met with in the Upaniṣadic era and the post-Vedic age. Caste or birth cannot stand a bar in a man's spiritual amelioration or scholarly aspiration. The *Dharmasūtras* lend support to this fact and attach greater importance to spiritual attainment than to heredity in express terms. Observes *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* :

'Dharmacaryayā jaghanyo varṇaḥ pūrvaṃ pūrvavaṃ vṛṇamāpadyate jāti-parivṛttau; adharmacaryayā pūrvo varṇo jaghanyaṃ

3. *Aitareyālocanam* : P. 14, second edition, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1906.

jaghanyaṃ varṇamāpadyate jātiparivṛttau.'[4] 'Through acts of piety the inferior castes attain to the status of their immediate higher castes; similarly, through vice or sinful acts higher castes are degraded to their next immediate lower castes.' Manu also lends countenance to this view when he asserts the truth,—

'Śūdro brāhmaṇatāmeti brāhmaṇaśceti śūdratām.'

'Through illumination or learning, a śūdra attains to the status of brāhmaṇa whereas a brāhmaṇa becomes a śūdra through ignorance.' Patañjali the famous author of *Mahābhāṣya* observes,—*'Trividho vai brāhmaṇo bhavati—jātyā, karmaṇā, tapasā.'* 'One becomes a brahmin through three ways—birth, action or conduct, and penance.' A brahmin's son becomes a brahmin through heredity. Again like Vidura, Dharmavyādha, etc. one belonging to Śūdra caste can attain to brahminhood through acts of piety or knowledge, par excellence. Again like King Viśvāmitra one can become brahmin through penance. The profound knowledge and spiritual excellence of King Janaka attained wide celebrity in ancient India so much so that the Vedic, Epic and Pauranic literatures ring with his profound wisdom, God-intoxication and munificence. His court was a famous seat of learning adorned by Sage Yājñavalkya, female savant Gārgī and other learned people of the day. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Śukla-Yajurveda* recounts the fact that the sages moved by the profound scholarship and spiritual merit of King Janaka addressed him as brāhmaṇa and accepted him as such. They approached him and said,—*'Tvaṃ brāhmaṇo'si'* (Thou art a brāhmaṇa). It is not obligatory that the sons of a higher caste will belong to that caste if their conduct gives the lie to the definition of that caste. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* records that the hundred sons of King Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya, gradually deteriorated in merit and turned into mixed castes, low castes and outcastes. 'Viśvāmitra had a hundred and one sons, fifty older than Madhucchandas and fifty younger. He asked his sons not to think themselves older than Śunaḥśepa. Those that were older did not think this right. Viśvāmitra cursed them saying,—'Your off-spring shall inherit the ends (of the earth). These are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas, who live in large numbers beyond the borders; most of the dasyus are the descendants of Viśvāmitra.'[5] Thus the sons of King Viśvā-

4. 2—5—10, 11.

5. *Ait. Br.*, 7—33—6.

mitra who was an āryan and Kṣatriya, became non-āryans and outcastes. This fact illustrates the observation of Manu,—

'Aryād āryo bhaved guṇaiḥ.'[6] 'The son of an āryan father can become an āryan through merit alone, not through heredity.' Many passages can be cited from the *Mahābhārata* lending support to this view and establishing the truth that caste is determined by conduct or merit and not by birth. *'Karmaṇā varṇo na tu janmanā varṇaḥ.'* The following observation of the great Epic speaks for itself;—

'Jātyā na Kṣatriyaḥ proktaḥ Kṣatāt trāṇaṃ karoti yaḥ.
Cāturvarṇya-bahiṣṭo'pi sa eva Kṣatriyaḥ smṛtaḥ.'[7]

It means,—'One does not become a Kṣatriya by birth; one who renders protection and succour to the distressed, he alone is called Kṣatriya, no matter to which community he belongs; he may belong to a low caste outside the four castes.' This categorical assertion establishes the fact that caste is recognised through action or conduct and not through heredity. Manu says,—learning and knowledge are the marks of a brāhmaṇa, rendering protection to others is the mark of a Kṣatriya, trade is the mark of a Vaiśya, and service is the mark of a Śūdra.

'Tapo vidyā ca viprasya niḥśreyasakaraṃ param.
Brāhmaṇasya tapo jñānaṃ, Kṣatriyasya tu rakṣaṇam.
Vaiśyasya tu tapo vārtā, tapaḥ śūdrasya sevanam.'

In the "Anuśāsana-parvan" of the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma of supreme wisdom instructs Yudhiṣṭhira about the truth underlying the caste system in the following words :—

'Na Kulena na jātyā vā dvābhyāṃ vā brāhmaṇo na hi;
Caṇḍālopi vratasthaḥ cet brāhmaṇaḥ sa Yudhiṣṭhira,
Śūdro'pi śīlasampanno guṇavān brāhmaṇo bhavet.
Brāhmaṇo'pi kriyāhīno śūdrāt pratyantaraṃ bhavet.'

'One does not become a brāhmaṇa by lineage or by birth. O Yudhiṣṭhira! know that caṇḍāla to be a brāhmaṇa who possesses

6. *Manu,* X—66.
7. *Mbh.* "Śāntiparvan".

the merits attributed to brahminhood. A Śūdra possessing the merits of brahminhood becomes a brahmin, whereas a brahmin shorn of the determining merits or conduct of a brahmin is worse than a Śūdra.'

The *Mahābhārata* states in clear and unambiguous terms: 'O Yudhiṣṭhira! there was only one Varṇa or one caste in this world at the dawn of creation; later on that one Varṇa was split up into four varṇas according to different professions and activities.'

'Ekavarṇamidaṃ pūrvaṃ viśvamāsīt Yudhiṣṭhira!
Kriyā-karma-vibhedena cāturvarṇyaṃ pratiṣṭhitam.'

In the "Śāntiparvan" of the same great Epic, sage Bharadvāja says to Bhṛgu :—'There is no difference amongst the castes; in fact all castes are in essence one Varṇa, viz., Brāhmaṇa that was created by Brahman while creating the universe. That one Varṇa, viz., brāhmaṇa has assumed four different varṇas on account of difference in callings, not on account of difference of stock:

'Na vibhedo'sti varṇānāṃ sarvaṃ brahmamidaṃ jagat,
Brahmaṇā pūrvasṛṣṭaṃ hi karmabhiḥ varṇatām gatam.'

The great Epic goes further and adds :—'Nor source (*yoniḥ*) nor impression of previous birth, nor learning, nor heredity, determines brahminhood; conduct or character alone marks out a brahmin.'

'Na yoniḥ, nāpi saṃskāro, na śrutaṃ, na ca santatiḥ,
Kāraṇāni dvijatvasya, vṛttam eva tu kāraṇam.'[9]

The discussion between Yudhiṣṭhira and Nahuṣa regarding the determinant of varṇa recorded in the "Vanaparvan" of the *Mahābhārata* merits great importance. Yudhiṣṭhira defines brahminhood in the following way—'He is called a brahmin in whom the qualities of truthfulness, generosity, mercy, good conduct, harmlessness, penance and love are found.'[10] Nahuṣa questions Yudhiṣṭhira. 'Sometime, we find these qualities in men of the Śūdra community; in

8. *Mbh.* "Śāntipurvan" 188—10.

9. *Ibid.*, Chapter 313.

10. 151—21.

that case how will you designate those Śūdras?"[11] Yudhiṣṭhira replies :—

'Śūdro ca tad bhavellakṣma, dvije cet tat na vidyate,
na sa śūdro bhavet śūdro, brāhmaṇo na ca brāhmaṇaḥ.
Yatraitat lakṣyate sarpa ! vṛttaṃ sa brāhmaṇah smṛtaḥ,
Yatraitat na bhavet sarpa ! taṃ śūdramiti nirdiśt.'[12]

'If these qualities are found in a Śūdra, that Śūdra is no longer a Śūdra but a brāhmaṇa; on the other hand, if these determining marks are absent in a so-called brāhmaṇa he is not a brahmin. Wherever these qualities are noticed know him to be a brahmin and wherever they are absent designate him as a Śūdra.'

Lord Buddha strongly supports this view of varṇa when he categorically asserts, 'Him shall I call brāhmaṇa who does not commit any crime through mind, body and words. Nobody can become a brahmin through external signs like matted locks etc., or lineage or birth, but he indeed is a brāhmaṇa and he is really happy who is the abode of truth and virtue.'[13]

Lord Kṛṣṇa states in the Gītā,—*'Cāturvarṇyaṃ mayā sṛṣṭaṃ guṇa-karma-bihāgaśaḥ.'*[14] 'The four varṇas have been created by me according to the division of merit and profession.'

The life of the illustrious Dharmavyādha is recorded in the *Mahābhārata*. Though he belonged to the low community of Vyādha or hunters and used to sell meat he was respected by the brahmins even for his profound wisdom in religious matters, and piety. Brahmins also received instructions from him regarding metaphysical and ethical matters. The famous Dharmavyādha himself supports this truth about the determining factor of castes when he says,—

'Brāhmaṇaḥ patanīyeṣu vartamāno vikarmasu,
Dāmbhikaḥ duṣkṛtaprāyaḥ śūdreṇa sadṛśo bhavet
Yastu śūdro dame satye dharme ca satataṃ sthitaḥ,
Taṃ brāhmaṇamahaṃ manye, vṛttena hi bhaved dvijaḥ.'[15]

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11. 151—23.
12. 151—25, 26.
13. *Dharmapada*, XXXVI, *Bāhmaṇavaggo*, 9, 11.
14. 4—13.
15. "Vanaparvan," 212—219.

'A brahmin who is arrogant, wicked and indulges in vicious deeds is equal to a śūdra; again, I regard that śūdra as a brāhmaṇa who is self-controlled and who always sticks to the path of truth and piety. One becomes a dvija by his conduct.' Dharmavyādha himself is a concrete example of his statement.

Many labour under the delusion that Viśvāmitra's conversion from Kṣatriya into brahminhood is a solitary example in the sacred texts. Hundreds of such examples of conversion of lower caste into higher caste through merit may be cited from the sacred texts of the Sanātana Dharma. The second, third and twentyfirst chapters of the ninth Skandha of *Śrīmad-bhāgavatam* mention various gotras and lines of brahmins springing up from non-brahmins. The literal translation of those ślokas of *Bhāgavata* is given below :—

'Agniveśa was born in the royal (Kṣatriya) line of Dhṛṣṭa. Agniveśa's son Agniveśyāyana became brāhmaṇa. Again, Nābhāga, one of the sons of king Diṣṭa became Vaiśya swerving from the conduct of Kṣatriya because of his attraction for cow-herding. One son of Manu, Śaryāti by name, became a noted brahmin by his knowledge, *par excellence,* and the very next day he uttered Vedic hymns in the Sacrifice (performed by sage Aṅgirasa) as one of the brahmin priests of the sacrifice. Śini, born of Garga, was a Kṣatriya but from that Kṣatriya Śini sprung two gotras of brahmins known as Gārgya and Gārgyāyana. Even Śini's father Garga, though a Kṣatriya, became a brahmin and performed the natal rites of Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa and prepared Kṛṣṇa's horoscope. Three sons of king Duritakṣaya became brahmins; their names were Trayyāruṇi, Kavi and Puṣkarāruṇi. Kṣatriya king Bharmyāśva had five sons. One son was Mudgala. Mudgala's sons became brahmins of the Maudgalya gotra. Again, the eldest son of Mudgala, Divodāsa by name, retained the Kṣatriya character of his father and became the king of Varanasi. Again, Kṣatriya Divodāsa's sister Ahalyā was married to the brahmin sage Gotama. Their son was Śatānanda. (This Śatānanda was one of the priests in the marriage ceremony of Rāmacandra and Sītā).'

The "Anuśāsana-parvan" of the *Mahābhārata*[16] also furnishes many instances of such upgrading of castes through merit. The text

16. *Adhyāya*, 53.

runs as follows:—"Persons descended from the so-called Vaiśya or Śūdra community have also attained brahminhood through penance. Sage Kapiñjala etc., born of a woman of caṇḍāla caste became brahmins and realised souls (Brahmarṣi). Śakti, the son of sage Vaśiṣṭha married Adṛśyantī, the daughter of Vaiśya Citramukha. Sage Parāśara, the father of Vedavyāsa was born of this union. The author of the *Mahābhārata,* the renowned sage Vedavyāsa was begotten by Parāśara in the womb of Satyavatī, the daughter of a fisherman. The great king Vītahavya was converted into a brahmin by the mere words of sage Bhṛgu." King Vītahavya was defeated by king Pratardana in a grim battle; the latter chased Vītahavya to kill him. To save his life Vītahavya took shelter in the abode of sage Bhṛgu, Pratardana, in hot pursuit, arrived there to track down his adversary, and asked Bhṛgu, 'Where is king Vītahavya?' To save his protege sage Bhṛgu replied,—'There is no Kṣatriya in my place.' To honour his declaration, king Vītahavya became a brahmin from that day and practised penance to translate sage Bhṛgu's words into reality.

As a rule, the teaching profession was the exclusive right of the brahmin community. But in many of the Upaniṣads, we find famous Kṣatriya kings as exponents of Brahma-vidyā or knowledge of the Supreme Reality. Even learned brahmins approached the Kṣatriya teachers to receive instruction in Brahma-vidyā. As Dr. Radhakrishnan rightly points out, it is a peculiar feature of upaniṣadic lore that reputed Kṣatriya kings were custodians of Brahma-vidyā or knowledge, par excellence, and imparted it to brahmin sages some of whom were renowned scholars. Some instances are cited below to bear out this point.

King Janaka of Videha was a versatile scholar whose fame attained wide celebrity. He was called *"Rājarṣi"* or sage king on account of his profound wisdom and God-realisation. His court was a famous seat of learning. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[17] states that some brahmin seers approached him. Requested by them, he explained the mystery of "Agnihotra".

The *Kauṣītaki-upaniṣad*[18] mentions the name of the brāhmaṇa Bālāki Gārgya who was well-versed in the Veda. He was so pround

17. 11–6–2–1.

18. 4–1.

that he acquired the designation of Dṛpta Bālāki (दृप्त बालाकि) i.e., proud Bārākī. He met Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī. Bālāki was defeated and silenced by the display of superior knowledge on every topic by Ajātaśatru. Bālāki approached the king with humility, fuel in hand and requested the king to instruct him. At first the king refused that as a Kṣatriya he should not instruct a brāhmaṇa. Hard-pressed he agreed and instructed him accepting Bālāki as his pupil. Similarly, Śvetaketu the great scholar and his father Gautama were silenced in debate by king Pravahaṇa Jaivāli. The king imparted supreme knowledge to both of them.[19] As recounted in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*,[20] *Śvetaketu* the brahmin sage met king Pravahaṇa in the assembly convened by the Pañcālas. The king asked him, 'O boy, did your father instruct you properly?' Śvetaketu replied in the affirmative. Pravahaṇa asked him whether he was enlightened by his father regarding the next world, eschatology, regarding the doctrine of rebirth and metempsychosis and the different paths of transmigration of the human soul like Devayāna, Pitṛyāna. Śvetaketu admitted that his father did not instruct him in these matters. The king slightingly said, 'When thou do not know these eschatological matters how can you say you have been properly instructed by your father.' Thus humiliated Śvetaketu went back to his father and charged him for not instructing him properly. He referred to king Pravahaṇa as *'Rājanya-bandhu'* which means a king of low status. Śvetaketu's father Gautama frankly admitted his ignorance regarding matters relating to the next world and rebirth. Hence Gautama himself approached the king to receive proper instruction. The king paid due homage to the sage, asked him to stay with the king for one year. The king said,—'This supersensuous knowledge regarding eschatology and metempsychosis was confined amidst Kṣatriyas till to-day; now it is imparted to the brahmins for the first time.' (*'Iyaṃ na prāk tattaḥ purā vidyā brāhmaṇān gacchati tasmadu sarveṣu lokeṣu kṣatriyasyaiva praśāsanam abhuditi tasmai hovāca'*).[21]

In the same Upaniṣad in the First Chapter, it is recorded that two sages Śilaka, son of Śātāvata, and Caikitāyana Dālvya received

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19. *Vide Śatapatha Br.*, 14–9–1–1. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, 6–1. *Chāndogyipaniṣad*, 5–3.

20. 5–3.

21. 5–3–7.

instructions from king Pravahaṇa regarding the theory of space (Ākāśa) as the final resort of all creation.[22]

Another learned teacher was king Aśvapati of Kaikeya. Five learned brahmins approached him with fuel (सत्सिम्) in hand to become his pupils. They placed their fuels in the king's sacred fire-pit; the king accepted them as his pupils and explained to them the significance of Vaiśvānara.

If heredity and merit were the determinant of varṇa, God would have incarnated Himself in the brahmin family alone. As per scriptural testimony we find that three of the greatest divine incarnations, Avatāras, viz., Srī Rāmacandra, Lord Kṛṣṇa called Pūrṇa-avatāra, and Lord Buddha revealed themselves as princes in the royal (Kṣatriya) family. In the present age also this recognition of merit is amply testified to in the case of renowned saints and realised souls born in non-brahmin families. Nānaka, Rāmānanda and the like, ascetics and religious reformers belonged to non-brahmin families. Two of the greatest spiritual luminaries and religious teachers of Assam Śrī Śaṅkaradeva and Śrī Mādhavadeva were born in Kayastha families. Many brahmins became their disciples and propitiated them. Even now there are Satras in Assam where non-brahmin spiritual preceptors called Satrādhikaras initiate brahmin disciples as well. Three of the greatest apostles of His Holiness Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṃsa viz., Swāmī Vivekānanda, Swāmī Abhedānanda and Swāmī Brahmānanda alias Rākhāl Mahārāj, the founder president of Belūr Maṭh, were born in non-brahmin families. Hundreds of thousands of brahmins paid homage to them and bowed down at their feet. Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa, their light and spiritual guide proclaimed their greatness as realized souls, apostles and spiritual teachers in clear and unmistakable terms.

The above discussion drives home the truth that merit was the important factor in determining castes in ancient India,—the truth that 'caste is character.'

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22. 1–8, 9.

SOME PROBLEMS OF HŪṆA HISTORY

By Dr. Upendra Thakur*

I

In a seemingly inspired article,[1] R. C. Majumdar has bitterly criticized some of our assumptions and statements connected with the problems of the history of the Hūṇas in India. He has accused us of being "often rude and unbecoming" while referring to learned scholars from whose views we have differed in our account of the Hūṇas. While apologizing to the great scholar for the lapses on our part, if any, we admit that he has also exceeded the limits of decency in condemning my statements and, like him, we equally feel unable to improve upon his language in correctly presenting his views in the article under reference. The entire article from the beginning to the end abounds in scholarly prejudices and mental inhibitions, quite uncharacteristic of a great scholar of his age and learning.

Now, we propose to discuss below some of the interesting points raised by Dr. Majumdar which may be summarised as follows:

(1) The statement that "the country of Nābhāka, mentioned in R. E. XIII of Aśoka, as the city of Nabhikapura in the land of the Uttarakurus, has been located in the Thianshan mountains on the confines of Scythia"[2] violates some of the fundamental principles of historical writing.[3]

(2) The conquest of the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Madras, and other well known republican tribes by Toramāṇa who dashing beyond took Magadha, Bañaras and Kauśāmbī in the course of a lightning march[4] is "more suitable to a romance than sober history, particularly when the evidence for all these assumptions is very flimsy."[5]

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1. Being a review of my book, "The Hūṇas in India" published in *JIH*, 1967, pp. 828—30.
2. *The Hūṇas in India*, p. 59..
3. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 828.
4. *The Hūṇas in India, p.* 112.
5. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 829.

(3) The cotnention that Toramāṇa encouraged Vainyagupta against Narasiṁhagupta to become the ruler of the Eastern provinces of the Gupta empire (Gauḍa) and further installed Prakaṭāditya as king of Magadha at Kashi while inciting Kṛṣṇagupta or his successor to gain some influence in Magadha proper[6] has been denounced as figments of author's fertile imagination.

(4) The identification of *Ha-Kārākhya* with Toramāṇa[7] and *Bhakārakhya* with Narasiṁhagupta[8] is enigmatic.

(5) The arguments to disprove the theory of the foreign origin of the Rajputas are weak and no new light has been thrown on the problem.

Before dealing with the above points we would like to point out to our readers that though Dr. Majumdar has sweepingly criticized all our views, unfortunately he has advanced no constructive suggestions or solutions of his own which would have benefited the author and the readers alike.

II

As regards the first point we are told that it violates some of the fundamental principles of history-writing because (i) it conveys the impression that Nābhāka has been equated with Nabhikapura in the Rock Edict of Aśoka which is of course not a fact;[9] (ii) it is an identification proposed by Cunningham many, many years ago, and not a well established fact[10] and (iii) the objections raised by D. R. Bhandarkar against Cunningham's views and the suggestions made by the former about the location of the Nābhākas in his book *Aśoka* have been totally ignored.[11]

In this connection we would like to point out that though D. R. Bhandarkar has challenged the identification proposed by Cun-

6. *The Hūṇas in India*, pp. 128-29.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
9. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 828.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 828.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 828.

ningham and has given his own suggestion about the location of the Nābhākas or Nābhapantis, the identification still remains a subject of great controversy. Indeed, the Nābhākas or Nābhapantis have not been satisfactorily identified,[12] and for long, it seems, this will remain a big question mark.

Bühler has cited a passage from the *Vaivartta Purāṇa* which refers to a city called Nābhikapura belonging to the Uttarakurus. This probably shows that the Nābhākas or Nābhapantis might have been a Himalayan people towards the north-west, the neighbours of the Kambojas.[13] Rock Edict V[14] mentions the Gandhāras in place of the Nābhapantis who might be connected with them. Further in the *gaṇa-pāṭha* of Pāṇini[15] also, the names *Nābhāka* and *Ūrṇa-nābha* occur and Jayaswal is inclined to believe that the *Ūrṇa-nābhas* might be connected with Gandhāra famous for its wool since the Ṛgvedic times.[16] In other words, the *Nābhākas* or *Nābhapantis* were either neighbours of the Gandhāras or some sub-division thereof.[17]

Thus, from the above, it is clear that different scholars have advanced different views about the location of the Nābhākas and yet their exact location is not established. We, therefore, fail to understand how the citing of Cunningham's view on this question, which though challenged has not yet lost its ground, violates some of the so-called fundamental principles of history-writing. It was not our intention to propose an identification of Nābhākas or Nābhikapura in our account of the Hūṇas, we have simply mentioned them by way of reference while discussing the expansion of the Hūṇa territory and this does not in the least affect our conclusions or assumptions in the given context.

III

It is true, the fuller story of the rise and disappearance of the tribal republics in ancient India has not been told yet

12. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 37.
13. R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 168.
14. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.
15. iv. i. 112. Also cf., iv. 2. 53.
16. *Hindu Polity*, Pt. i, p. 145.
17. For details, *Ibid*, p. 145.

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17. For details, *Ibid*, p. 145.

and nothing definite can be said in the present state of our knowledge. The sundry literary references as well as epigraphic and numismatic data clearly establish that most of the tribal republics, such as the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas etc., had a continuous history of about one thousand years with temporary eclipse in between. They not only survived the Mauryan empire, but also the Satraps, the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas. They are lost to history sometime before the seventh century. The Johiyā Rajputas found on the bank of the Sutlej along the Bahawalpur Frontier have been identified as being the modern remnants of the ancient Yaudheyas.[18] Both on philological and territorial grounds this identification appears to be sound.[19] Similarly the story of the name Mālava still survives in the close community of the Brāhmaṇas, called Mā'avīs or Mālavīya.[20]

It is true, with the end of the fifth century republics also disappear from Hindu India. The old Licchavis, the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and other republican states as well as the young Puṣyamitras quitted the political scene and were now confined to small pockets devoid of all their past glory and grandeur. Whatever little was left of them was finally put to an end by the Hūṇa barbarians whose sword of destruction was greatly responsible for the fall of the Gupta empire in India. It is also true, the Hūṇa invasion alone cannot explain the causes of the decay of the republican order: the causes must also be internal which have yet to be investigated. There is, however, no denying the fact that the tottering republican order was given the final blow by the Hūṇas. And, to denounce this statement as being "more suitable to a romance than sober history" is to shut one's eyes to stark reality. Dr. Majumdar knows more than any one else that the views of most of the eminent writers on the history of ancient India are based on the so-called flimsy grounds and are subject to modifications in the light of further researches.

As regards the advance of Toramāṇa from the west to the east we are quite in agreement with Majumdar. In this connection we need hardly add that while discussing the routes followed by the Hūṇas

18. Cunningham, *ASR* xiv, p. 140; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 151.
19. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
20. For details, see *Ibid.*, pp. 149—157.

we have stressed upon the fact in many places in our account[21] that Toramāṇa advanced from the west to the east and not from the east to the west. Judged against this background it would be clear that our intention was not to enumerate the three countries of Magadha, Banaras and Kauśāmbī in the order Dr. Majumdar has understnod it. Toramāṇa advanced from the west and naturally, therefore, he sacked Kauśāmbī and proceeding further occupied Banaras and Magadha and on his return to Banaras from Magadha he died at Kashi.[22]

IV

Regarding the contention that Toramāṇa encouraged Vainyagupta against Narasiṁhagupta to become the ruler of the Eastern provinces of the Gupta empire (Gauḍa) and further installed Prakaṭāditya as king of Magadha at Kashi, while inciting Kṛṣṇagupta or his successor to gain some influence in Magadha proper,[23] we have to submit that keeping in view the confused politics of the period under reference, this is probably the only assertion that can be made. A rational student of history would not entertain very grave doubts about these statements only if he cares to analyse the available materials with an unprejudiced mind. It has been rightly suggested that "the invasion of Magadha by Toramāṇa and the consequent defeat and humiliation of the emperor Narasiṁhagupta afforded a favourable opportunity to the different scions of the imperial family to embark on a career of adventure and carve out independent principalities !'[24] Vainyagupta succeeded in East Bengal,[25] while Kṛṣṇagupta or his successor probably became quite influential in Magadha. Considering the confused political situation of Eastern India resulting from the collapse of the imperial Gupta power leading to another ferocious Hūṇa invasion under Toramāṇa, after their utter rout at the hands of Skandagupta only after two decades, it can be safely suggested that Toramāṇa as a shrewd statesman may have adopted the policy of divide and rule which no doubt paid him rich dividends. It is, therefore, natural

21. *The Hūṇas in India*, pp. 123-24.

22. For details, on *Ibid.*, pp. 123—25.

23. *The Hūṇas in India*, pp. 128-29.

24. B. P. Sinha, *DKM*, p. 95 fn.

25. *IHQ*, vol. v, p. 45 ff.

to suggest that Vainyagupta was encouraged by Toramāṇa to become the ruler of the eastern provinces of the Gupta empire and the latter installed Prakaṭāditya, a son of Vainyagupta on the throne at Kashiī.[26] The evidence of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* in this respect may be vague but it is the only source of our information that throws some light on this episode. If relying on this piece of literary evidence is to exceed all limits of sobriety, then we would humbly point out to Dr. Majumdar that these limits were already crossed by the earlier writers on this subject.[27] Our statement can be challenged only when reliable evidences are available in future.

V

The enigmatic method followed in identifying *Ha-Kārākhya* with Toramāṇa and *Bhakārākhya* with Narasiṁhagupta was adopted much earlier by K. P. Jayaswal,[28] supported by B. P. Sinha[29] and others; and we have simply accepted this identification on good grounds. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* while narrating the exploits of Toramāṇa does not name him, but simply calls him the Śūdra conqueror who was "H- initialled." *H* here stands for Hūṇa (Conqueror) who was no other than Toramāṇa in this context.[30] He has, therefore, been rightly identified by Jayaswal with Toramāṇa,[31] as he was during this period master of a larger part of northern India, besides western and central Asia.

About the identification of *Bhakārākhya* with Narasiṁhagupta we are also not very certain. We have simply suggested, on the authority of others,[32] that he may probably be identified with Narasiṁhagupta.[33] According to some scholars, *Bhakārākhya* is to be identified with Bhānugupta but this identification also does not seem convincing in this context.[34] On the coins of Vainyagupta we come

26. *DKM*, p. 93 fn.
28. *IHI*, p. 53 ff.
28. *IHI*. p. 53 ff.,
29. *DKM*, pp. 91, 95 fn.
30. *IHI*, p. 57,
31. *Ibid.*, p. 53 ff.
32. *DKM*, p. 95.
33. *The Hūṇas in India*, p. 127.
34. For details see *DKM*, p. 95 fn.; *EHI*, p. 201: Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, p. 183 ff; *UGA*, p. 190 ff: *PHAI*, 503 ff.

across the simple letter *Bha*. The question therefore arises: is *Bha* of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* the same as Vainyagupta? But how can *Bha* stand for *Va*? In view of these vague and conflicting statements the only probability seems that *Bhakārākhya* refers to Narasiṁhagupta.[35] But we have clearly stressed that it is not possible to be positive about one or the other possibilities. The identification of *Hakārākhya* with Toramāṇa, however, is quite convincing.

VI

On the question of the theory of the foreign origin of the Rajputs propounded by D. R. Bhandarkar and others, Dr. Majumdar charges us of not having grasped the full significance of the arguments which we seek to refute and of having inadequate knowledge of the literature on the subject.[36] This is a very sweeping generalization which we never expected at least from the doyen of Indian historians. We claim that we have discussed all the available literature and epigraphic records on the subject and only then we have tried to come to the conclusion that the Hūṇas were not one of the thirty-six clans of the Rajputas as popularly believed, and that it would be unfair to the mediaeval Rajputas to brand them all as having descended from the foreigners such as the Hūṇas, the Gūjars or the Gurjaras etc. Besides discussing other aspects, we have taken into consideration their anthropometrical characteristics which are purely āryan and therefore ethnologically they cannot be branded as foreigners from whom the later Rajputas are said to have sprung up. They are āryans with the best āryan noses and historically the vaiśyas of the Vedas and the Smṛtis.[37] They were, however, degraded in later times due to their deviation from the Vedic rites and adoption of various professions and matrimonial alliances with non-Rajput elements such as the Hūṇas etc.[38] Thus, our only fault is that we have not accepted blindly the view of Bhandarkar and earlier writers to which Majumdar seems inclined to subscribe. We would feel grateful to him if he could throw some new light on this much vexed problem of Indian history.

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35. *DKM*, p. 95 n.
36. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. [illegible]
37. *The Hūṇas in India*, pp. 256-57.
38. Ibid., p. 257.

VII

In one place[39] in our acrount we have discussed the view of Dr. Majumdar and shown that he is doubtful about his own contention.[40] Dr. Majumdar says that in any case the Gupta suzerainty in this region (Malwa) etc. was soon re-established and continued from A.D. 510 to atleast A.D. 528. The Guptas still ruled over the old empire from Bengal at least to Central India or Eastern Malwa.[41] But we have shown that the rule of Toramāṇa in Malwa was not terminated in 510 A.D. On the other hand, his sphere of influence rapidly continued to spread further. Without entering into a discussion on this point we would simply request the readers to read the passages side by side before charging us of ignorance and not having understood the passages properly as Dr. Majumdar has done.

It is true that a pioneer work like the present one on the history and culture of the Hūṇas is bound to suffer from many defects. But the way Dr. Majumdar has tried to find fault with the book does not fall in the best gradation of reviewing a book or citicizing views without advancing construstive suggestions to benefit the readers. Every student of history has a right to interpret things in his own way without, however, distorting the contents, and we should not feel outraged, if our views are not accepted or supported by o'hers.

39. *The Hūṇas in India*, p. 120.

40. *VGA*, 191.

41. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

WERE THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS VICEROYS OF THE KUṢĀṆAS?

By RASESH C. JAMINDAR*

The very long mooted and long discussed question in the ancient history of India is—whether the Western Kṣatrapas, particularly Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Cāṣṭan, were in any way subordinate kings under the Kuṣāṇa kings, especially Kaniṣka I? Since many years scholars have tried to tackle this problem. There are many historians who believe that Kuṣāṇa emperors were the overlords of the Kṣatrapas of Western India;[1] there are few who deny it.[2]

One of the Nasik cave inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna contains the important information that the rate of exchange between Kārṣāpaṇa and gold coin, named Suvarṇa, was as 1 to 35.[3] The reference here of Suvarṇa, must surely be to the contemporary gold currency of the Kuṣāṇas, according to Prof. Rapson; and on this basis he makes Nahapāna a subordinate ruler under the Kuṣāṇas.[4] The same inscription mentions the word *Kuśāṇamūle*.[5] Dr. Bhandarkar, concentrating on the same word, observed that the

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1. Rapson E. J., *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas etc.* (henceforth *Catalogue*) 1908, p. cvi-cvii; Bhandarkar, D. R., *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 153; Konow, S., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, part I, 1929, p. LXVII; Levi. S., *Journal Asiatique*, 1936, pp. 61ff.; Banerjea J. N., *A Comprehensive History of India*, (henceforth *CHI*), vol. II, 1957, p. 274; Sircar, D. C., *The Age of Imperial Unity* (henceforth *AIU*), 1960, p. 179; Puri, B. N., *India under the Kuṣāṇas* (henceforth *IUK*), 1965, pp. 21—23.

2. Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India* (henceforth *EHNI*), 1958, pp. 83—88, 105; Sircar, D. C. *AIU.*, p. 180.

3. ....कर्षापणसहस्राणि सतरि ७००० पंचत्रिशक सुवर्ण कृता दिन सुवर्ण सहस्रणं मूल्यं (see *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 82.)

4. *Catalogue*, p. clxxxv.

5. ...यत चानेन अक्षयनिवि काहायणा सहस्रानित्रिनि ३००० संघस चातुदिसस ये इमस्मिं लेणे वसंतानं भविसति चिवरिक कुशणमूले च.... see as in no. 3.

name Kuśāṇa "appears to have been given to the silver coinage of Nahapāna, because he issued it for his overlord, who must have been known as Kuśaṇa i.e. Kuṣāṇa."[6]

The rulers of the Western India were designated as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa as it is known from their coins and inscriptions. These two terms tempted many scholars[7] to think that these rulers were the viceroys of the Kuṣāṇas, as the early Kṣatrapa rulers were the contemporary of the Kuṣāṇa kings, particularly Kaniṣka I, for he ruled over his vast empire through subordinate rulers enjoying the status of Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas, which is indicated in some of his inscriptions.[8]

But none of the abovementioned assumptions specifically prove that the Western Kṣatrapas were the feudatories of the Kuṣāṇas. The occurrence of the words like *Suvarṇa* and *Kuśāṇamūle* may not, however, indicate any political supremacy of Kuṣāṇas over Western Kṣatrapas. The mere mention of the word 'Suvarṇa' i.e. 'gold coin' does not specifically refer to the currency of Kūṣāṇas, for, the gold was used as coins even during the Vedic age. Thus Prof. Rapson's view is not acceptable. Equating the word 'Paḍiko' of the Kanheri inscriptions[9] with *'Kuśāṇamūle'* Prof. Senart has pointed out that it, here, refers to 'expenses of outside life;'[10] the interpretation goes against Dr. Bhandarkar's theory.

Scholars like Levi identifiy Sandares, mentioned in the Periplus, with Candana, Chinese Chen-tan a royal title given to Kaniṣka and then think that Kaniṣka's sway extended over North-Western

6. *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, 1921, pp. 199-200.

7. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. cvi. Raychaudhury, H. C., *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 310; Smith, *Early History of India*, 1957, p. 211; Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 157, fn. 1; Banerjea, J. N., *CHI*, pp. 240—42; Tripathi, R. S., *History of Ancient India*. p. 217, fn. 4; Konow, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 14, p. 140.

8. Puri, B. N., *IUK.*, Appendix B.

9. See *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. V.

10. See *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. 8. Senart clarifies the meaning of *'Kuṣāṇa'* thus: Kuṣāṇa means a monthly stipend, assigned to every monk during a certain period of the year and probably to be applied for his food. He further writes .. the distribution of the *'Kūṣāṇamūla'* appears to have been strictly paralleled with that of the *'Civarika'* or 'money for clothes....'

part of the Deccan.[11] But many scholars do not agree with this identification, on the contrary they identify Sandares with a Sātavāhana prince.[12] Apart from this, the theory does not tally with the known epigraphic records of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty as pointed out by Dr. Chattopadhyaya.[13]

Dr. B. N. Puri interprets the meaning of Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa in a little different way: 'Like Chashtana, Nahapana too was a Kṣatrapa first and then a Mahākṣatrapa. The assumption of the higher title in course of time seems to have some significance—it might imply the assertion of the independence from the overlord. The overlord does figure in both the cases.'[14] Suppose, if this is true, it means that not only the Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana but almost all the Western Kṣatrapa kings, then, must surely be the subordinate kings under the Kuṣāṇa emperors, as the former were always known as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa. Is it ever possible? For the simple reason that the reign of Vāsudeva, the last in the line of the imperial Kuṣāṇas of Kaniṣka group, ended sometimes between 241—272 A.D. as Dr. Puri himself observed;[15] on the contrary the Western Kṣatrapas ruled till the end of the fourth century after Christ. Thus the theory assumed by Dr. Puri does not stand forth.

Dr. Puri[16] thinks very likely that Nahapāna was owing allegiance to some Kuṣāṇa monarch who seems to be Wima Kadphises. For this he argues thus: "In the Nasik record of Uṣavadāta[17] there is a reference to his going to conquer the Mālavas at the command of the overlord (Bhaṭṭāraka). This word could not have been used as an epithet for Nahapāna who is mentioned in that record as a Kṣatrapa, its reference could be only to the overlord of Nahapāna as the meaning of the word signifies." But it has escaped his notice that in the same record the specific additional title 'Rājā' is also used along with the title 'Kṣatrapa.' Apart from this we also know that a very big hoard of Nahapāna's coins has been un-

11. *Journal Asiatique*, 1936, pp. 61. ff.
12. *AIU.*, pp. 199-200.
13. *EHNI*, p. 83-84.
14. *IUK.*, p. 22.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
16. *Ibd.*, pp. 22-23.
17. *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. 8, p. 78.

earthed near Jogalthembi (Nasik district),[18] which also proves his independent status. So it is impossible to accept Dr. Puri's theory.

Geographical limits of Kaniṣka's empire in India can be determined by his inscriptions, which have been discovered in Peshawar, Manikyāla (near Rawalpindi, now in Pakistan), Sri Vihar (Bahawalpur state), Zeda (near Und), Mathura, Shravasti, Kosambi, Sarnath; and his coins are found in Bengal, Bihar, Azamgarh proper, Azamgarh district, Sahet Mahet—all forming part of North India.[19]

Thus from the findspots of his epigraphic records, coins and the tradition of his conquests, one can easily infer that the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, United Provinces and country still further east were included within the empire of Kaniṣka (see the map). While Nahapāna extended his authority over as far as Ajmer in the north, Saurāṣṭra and Kachchha in the west, Malwa in the east and in the south including South Gujarat, North Konkaṇa as well as Nasik and Poona districts (see the map). Thus it proves emphatically that Gujarat was not under the sway of Kaniṣka.

Dr. Chattopadhyaya, who for the first time, so far as I know, emphasized on the basis of epigraphic records, refuting the theory of Prof. Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar, that "There is, however, absolutely no evidence to show that he (Nahapāna) was in any way subordinate under Kaniṣka I. In other words, there is no evidence to prove that Kaniṣka's sway extended over any part of the Deccan."[20]

But this also requires further discussion. The present writer, having agreed with Dr. Chattopadhyaya, has tried, here, to add many new points:

(1) It is already stated above that Kaniṣka maintained a satrapal system of Government. In his epigraphs he has mentioned the names of his viceroys, which do not include either Bhūmaka or Nahapāna. If both of them were his vassals like Kharapallāna, Vanasphara, Veśpaśi and Liaka, Kaniṣka being the most warlike and ablest Kuṣāṇa king, must have mentioned their names in his epigra-

18. See Scott, *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, vol. 22, pp. 223—243.

19. As in no. 8.

20. *EHNI.*, pp. 83-84, 105.

phic records. But the absence of their names, naturally, proves that Bhūmaka and Nahapāna were never under Kaniṣka's suzerainty. On the contrary the absence of Kaniṣka's name in the records of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas supports this view. This has been further confirmed by the absence of Kuṣāṇa coins and inscriptions from Gujarat.

(2) It was a tradition adopted by the Western Kṣatrapas to issue their coins both as Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa, which clearly shows their independent status. Such a powerful king like Kaniṣka might not have allowed them to issue coins if they were his subordinate.

(3) It was a practice amongst these kings to have their royal titles as 'Rājā Kṣatrapa' and 'Rājā Mahākṣatrapa.' The inclusion of the term 'Rājā' specifically proves their independent status once again. Only the use of the word 'Rājā' in the numerous coins of Nahapāna strengthens this view.

(4) The term 'Kṣatra' in Sanskrit literature is used in the sense of dominion, supremacy and power.[21] The word 'Kṣatrapati' was derived from 'Kṣatra' in connection with its first meaning, the usage of which is seen in the old book like *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*. It is used in the sense of ruler in *Ṛgveda*.[22] According to *Brāhmaṇas* 'Kṣatra' indicates the rank of member of the reigning or military order.[23] Thus the meaning 'the possessor of dominion' of 'Kṣatrapa' is significant here.

Lastly, the term 'Kṣatrapa' seems to be the Sanskrit adaptation[24] of an Īrānian word *'Kṣathṛapāvan.'*[25] This word has its origin in *Avestā*. Here, the assumption of the word *'Kṣathrapāta'* seems to have some significance;—*Kṣathra* means Bhūmi and *Pāta* means Pālaka (Protector) i.e. *Kṣathrapāta* means *Bhūmipāla*, in which connection western Kṣatrapas seem to mean Bhūmipāla—Bhūpāl i.e. the king.

21. See Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 325.

22. See *Ṛgveda*.

23. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 5; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii, 1, 5, 2.

24. This word is twice used in the Behistun Rock Inscription No. 3 of Darius, the great of Iran.

25. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p.c.; Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 47, 1918, p. 72; *Konow, Modern Review*, Vol. 29, 1921, p. 464; Bhatt, Janardan, *Bauddhakālīna Bhārata*, 1925, p. 285; Shastri, N., *CHI*, p. 263; Tripathi, R. S., *History of Ancient India*, p. 214, fn. 1.

The name Bhūmaka, the first known western Kṣatrapa king, significantly draws our attention in this light;—if we consider the meaning of Bhūmaka as Bhūmipati i.e. landowner.

In the end, I would like to sum up that the western Kṣatrapa kings were not at all the viceroys of the Kuṣāṇas at the present state of our knowledge. In other words, they were independent kings.[26]

26. A paper read at the 28th session of the Indian History Congress in December 1966, which was held at Mysore.

AN INTERESTING STONE PANEL FROM THE VIṢṆUPADA TEMPLE

By DR. BHAGWANT SAHAI*

The Viṣṇupada temple at Gaya in the state of Bihar, which was constructed by the order of the saintly Maharani Ahalya Bai Holkar of Indore in the 18th century A.D., is one of the most sacred temples of the Hindus. In the womb-house of this temple, the holy foot-print of Lord Viṣṇu is regularly worshipped by the devout followers of Brahmanism from all over the country. In the temple area, within the *garbha-gṛha* and without it, and even outside the main compound of the temple, there is a large number of sculptures belonging to the period when the mighty Pālas ruled over Bihar and Bengal. While some of them are lying scattered here and there, others are placed in smaller shrines as objects of worship and the remaining are firmly embedded in the walls of the secondary shrines and of the compound. These sculptures, like others of the period, are carved out of black basalt and may be assigned to the flourishing period of the Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture between the 10th and the 12th centuries A.D. On account of these sculptures being exposed to the sun and the rains and on account of application of greasy material and vermillion over them, they have become weather-worn, and most of them have lost their lusture; but still enough remains of them to provide very good specimens for the study of the iconographic features of the Brahmanical and a few Buddhist divinities. Usually in the temple area, our eyes meet with stone panels representing the group of the nine divinities known as the Navagrahas (Nine Planets) and the images of Gaṇeśa with raddish in one of his hands; but there are also images of Śeṣaśāyin Viṣṇu, Durgā, Ekamukhī Liṅga of Śiva and the Buddhist goddess Tārā. But of all the sculptures noticed in the Viṣṇupada temple area, there is a panel in black stone which is of special interest as in it is represented a group of five male Hindu divinities[1]— a composition like of which has not been found elsewhere.

The panel, firmly embedded in the wall to the right side of the doorway leading to the courtyard of the temple, is about 9 inches

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1. Please see the Plate.

in height and 1 foot and 8 inches in length. As indicated above, it exhibits five male divinities, all of them excepting the one on the extreme right side of the panel being accompanied by their respective mounts. The divinity at the extreme left is pot-bellied and slightly heavily built. He is represented as seated in the *paryaṅkāsana* (or the so-called European fashion). He is two armed having a rosary in his right hand and a water vessel in the left. He has a beard as well. It may, however, be noted that Agni, in accordance with the iconographic texts, is characterized by a rosary and a water vessel in his two hands, a ram or a goat as his vehicle, and a halo of flames emanating from his shoulders or upper part of his body.[2] Some of the texts also provide him with a beard.[3] Judged from the standards laid down in the canonical works, the depiction of Agni in the panel under study is endowed with all the essential iconographic features. In actual sculptural representations, Agni is usually represented as sitting or standing on a pedestal with the figure of a ram, the vehicle of the god, carved either on the front face of the pedestal or below the seat over which the god sits.[4] Unlike the hitherto known examples, Agni is shown seated astride in such a way that his *vāhana* could not be shown in its entirety. What renders the figure interesting is that the ram, intended to be portrayed as facing to front, has only its head shown with its two long and prominent ears, over which the god seated in the *paryaṅkāsana* has placed his both the legs. The figure of Agni, thus, besides adding one more number to the already existing short list of the sculptural representations of the god, presents an entirely new variety not known so far.

The figure next to Agni is also seated but in the *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* with his left leg tucked up on the seat and the right one pendent. Here the divinity is seated on the back of an elephant facing to left, the abscis of the slightly curved trunk of which is holding a fully expanded lotus on which the right pendent leg of the divinity is placed. The deity represented as a beautiful youth is two armed with his left hand placed on the seat he is sitting upon

2. *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, Pt. I. 3. 1. 811; *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 51/15; *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 261/9.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Cf. Banerjea, J. N. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Pl. XLV. 4; Sinha, B. P. *Bhāratīya Kalā ko Bihār kī Dena*, fig. 77; Dikshit, K. N. *Excavations at Paharpur* (MASI—55), Pl. XXXII. b; JBRS, LII, pp. 108 ff. and plate.

and the right one holding a two-knobbed object obviously regarded as a thunderbolt *(vajr)*. Indra has been described in the iconographic works as having a thunderbolt *(vajra)* as his emblem and an elephant as his vehicle.[5] Some works also enjoin that he shou d have a third eye horizontally marked on the forehead. Thus the figure of Indra depicted in the Viṣṇupada temple panel also possesses all the essential iconographic traits. A study of the north Indian figures of Indra indicates that the artists in the northern part of the country resorted to various modes in representing the deity. In stone sculptures, however, in the Gupta and the Early Mediaeval periods, he is represented either seated or standing, holding a thunderbolt in one of his hands, the other being in the *abhaya* or the *varada mudrā* or placed on the waist or holding some flower (*pārijāta*), and also accompanied by his Airāvata mount,[7] which is absent in the earlier examples from Bhumra[8] and Bhubaneshwar.[9] Indra, in the present instance, however, differs from the known examples in the manner in which the deity is shown riding on his vehicle. In this instance also, as in the case of the *Vāhana* of Agni, the elephant is not shown in its entirety, but indicated only by its head along with the trunk. Moreover, as already mentioned, the trunk of the elephant is curled up in such a way that the lotus he d in the abscis fully supports the pendent leg of the god. A new variety is thus also afforded by the representation of Indra in the present panel.

The central and third figure is represented similarly seated as the second one, i.e. in the *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* with his left leg folded and placed on the seat and the right one hanging down and kept on a fully blossomed lotus. This deity is also two armed placing his left hand on the seat in the same way as the second figure, and also holding an object in his right hand. The object held in the right hand is obviously a *daṇḍa* or a club which is held

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5. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, ch. 57/42; *Abhilaṣitārthacintāamaṇi*, Pt. I. 3. 1. 811; *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 51/14 (*Indri vajri gajārūḍhaḥ*); *Matsya-Purāṇa*, ch. 260. 66ff.

6. *Bṛhta-saṁhitā*, *ch.* 57/42.

Śiva has also a third eye on the forehead, but it is marked vertically.

7. Munshi, K. M. *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Pls. 55.c and 56.a; MASI No. 44, Pl. X; MASI No. 55, Pl. XXVII. d; Munshi, K. M. *Indian Temple Sculpture*, Pl. 15.

8. Cf. MASI No. 16, Pl. XIV. c.

9. Cf. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneshwar*, fig. 358.

by its lower and placed against the shoulder. Beneath the deity is the mount which is a buffalo. Here as well the buffalo is indicated by his front portion and the animal can be identified only through its head. Yama, in the textual descriptions, has been endowed with a terrific appearance, a staff in one of his hands and a buffalo as his *vāhana*.[10] Some of the texts also provide him with a noose in the other hand;[11] but, in the opinion of J. N. Banerjea,[12] like the noose of Varuṇa, *daṇḍa* is the most characteristic weapon of Yama, the lord of death and regent of the southern quarter. In actual sculptural representations, Yama is found represented either seated on his characteristic mount or standing with his mound shown on the pedestal.[13] This vehicle of the god is, however, absent in some of the figures of the earlier period.[14] Usually the deity is two armed, holding invariably a club (sometimes topped by a human skull as in the *khaṭvaṅga*) in one of his hands.[15] In the present example, Yama has been pictured in a most significant manner, as in the Bhumra example,[16] but with the addition of the buffalo beneath, upon which the god is made to sit. In this instance, the vehicle is not to be identified by its head only, but also by the front part of its body.

It is, however, the fourth figure which is highly interesting. Seated similarly as the second and the third figures, with the right leg pendent and the left one folded and placed on the seat, the objects held in the hands of the deity are not quite clear. In his left hand, which is held low near the thigh, the deity appears to be holding some circular or flowery object which may be regarded as a rosary or a lotus flower. The other hand lifted up and showing the attitude of protection (*abhaya*) also seems to be holding some indistinct object, looking more or less like a noose (*pāśa* or

10. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, ch. 57/57; *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 51/14; Rao, T. A. G. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II. ii. B. p. 257.

11. *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, 3.1.811; *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 261.12 268.13; *Śri-tattvanidhi*, p. 105.

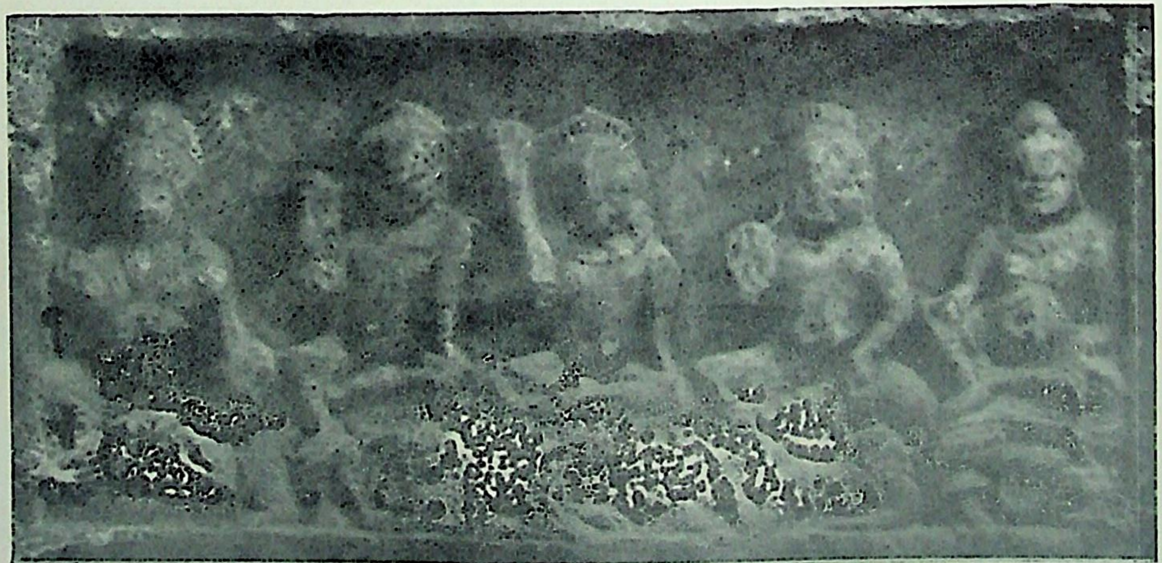
12. Banerjea, J. N. in *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 463.

13. Munshi, K. M. *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, pl. 68; Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 71, pl. 35A.

14. Cf. MASI No. 16, p. 12; Kala, S. C. *Sculptures in the Allahabad Municipal Museum*.

15. Munshi, *op. cit.*, pl. 60; Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pl. 35A.

16. MASI No. 166, p. 12.



STONE PANEL—VIṢṆUPADA TEMPLE, GAYA (BIHAR)

daṇḍa-pāśa). But the deity has a peculiar *vāhana* which presents considerable difficulty with regard to his identification. The hind part of the figure is treated like a pair of human legs folded at the knee in a manner done at the time of swimming. The waist, the hip and the thigh are more or less human-like. But the front part is quite peculiar. It is not a human torso. Its delineation is suggestive of a particular kind of species of fish having the main part of the body much flat. Such a variety of fish is commonly found in the Ganges. The mount has two attachments on its front on either side. They are certainly not the two human arms. The joints of the two extension-like objects are against furnishing such a suggestion. They also appear to have been provided with the sole intention of suggesting the parts to be usually used in the act of swimming. The figure of the *vāhana* is thus not a real representation of any particular living creature, but a purely imaginary creation of the artist's fancy. This much is, however, quite evident that the mount of the deity has been endowed with features which are indicative of its association with water, and, hence, may reasonably be regarded as a sea-monster. Now, Varuṇa, who is the regent of the western quarter and lord of the waters, is to be represented in the sculptures as of strong constitution, sitting or standing upon a fabulous marine monster.[17] The figure of the *vāhana* carved below the deity may, therefore, be reasonably regarded as the *vāhana* of Varuṇa. This view is further strengthened as the deity carries a noose in one of his hands, which is a special emblem of Varuṇa and which earned for him the name of Pāśī (the noose-career). Successful warriors are said to defy the bolt (*vajra*) of Indra and the noose of Salilaraja (i.e. Varuṇa).[18] The figure has also another important feature which, however, is not very often shown in the sculptural representations. In the figure, the deity is shown slightly pot-bellied, as he is required to be made '*kiñcit-pralaṁba-jaṭhara*' according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.[19] This deity sitting upon a mythical figure of the waters and holding noose in one of his hands is no other than Varuṇa, the lord of the waters. Usually in sculptures, Varuṇa is represented in association with a Makara—an animal having the head and the legs of an antelope and the tail of a fish—or a crocodile as his vehicle; but whatever the mount may be, it has

17. *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 51/15; *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, ch. 57/42. & c.

18. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 6.71.34.

19. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, ch. 52; Rao, *op. cit.*, II. ii.B. pp. 260 ff.

certainly features showing its association with the waters. It is but natural that the lord of the waters should have a mount from amongst the species of the sea; and, it is, therefore, nothing unusual if an imaginary mount but having the characteristics of creatures living in the waters has been provided to the god. The figure is, however, quite queer, not so far found in any of the sculpturai representations of Varuṇa, excepting in the one just described.[20]

The fifth and last figure at the extreme right of the panel is again that of a male divinity; but his body is not as elegant and well proportioned as that of the second, the third and the fourth figures, rather he is pot-bellied, and more or less of similar build as the first one. He is seated with his both the legs crossed one over the other and placed on the seat. In this instance, as already referred to, the mount of the god beneath his seat is conspicuous by its absence, and the place of the mount is occupied by a comparatively large pot (*kalaśa*) —evidently a receptacle of wealth, gold and jewellery. This god is also two-armed; but unfortunately the object held in his right hand is so indistinct that it is practically impossible to make anything out of it. The object in his left hand is also not clear; but something like a string of beads appears to be dropping down from this hand of the god, which may be regarded as a string of golden beads. Texts are, however, not unanimous as to the objects in the hands of Kubera; but features like pot-belly and well nourished body, richly jewelled ornaments and receptacle of wealth in his association are appropriate to the lord of riches.[21] In the mediaeval period, the iconography of Kubera, the personification of material wealth and prosperity, is advanced. He is depicted more often with two or more or even eight pots of treasure

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20. I had first identified the figure of the mount as that of a sea-monster, but then I was hesitant on the point. Dr. Sushil Malti Devi, Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, also tuned the same chord; and she drew my attention towards another equally significant feature of the deity too, i.e. his being '*kiñcit-pralaṁba-jaṭhara*" (slightly-pot-bellied). The whole credit of identifying the figure of Varuṇa should, therefore, go to her, and for which I am thankful. Dr. Mahesh Chandra Srivastava, another Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, discerned 'acqueous character' in the delineation of the figure of the vehicle of the deity.

21. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, ch. 57/57; Hemadri in Banerjea, J. N. *op. cit.*, pp. 338-39; *Amsumadbhedagama, Suprabhedagama* and *Śilparatna* in Rao, *op cit.*, pp. 263-64; *Matsya-Purāṇa*, ch. 260/20-21; *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III/53. 1—7.

carved on the pedestal or on the either side of his head and on the pedestal or shown as hanging from the boughs of the wishfulfilling trees.[22] But in all such examples, the vehicle of the god is conspicuous by its absence. Kubera in the present representation is, however, to be identified only by means of his corpulent body, the golden beads trickling down from his left hand and the single receptacle of wealth carved on the pedestal. Thus, although an ordinary, yet a representative illustration of Kubera in the mediaeval period is furnished by the panel.

The Viṣṇupada temple panel, thus, presents a group of five male Hindu divinities, Agni, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera who are the guardian deities of the South-Eastern, Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern quarters of the universe respectively. Carved out of black basalt, the present piece of sculpture, datable on stylistic ground in between the 10th and the 12th centuries A.D., stands as a class by itself, for it represents a group of such deities the like of which has not been met with so far in the other parts of the country.

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22. Cf. ASI—AR, 1927-28, p. 160 (from Nalanda); JBRS, XLII, p. 6, fig. 3 ,(from Benisagar, Singhbhum district); Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 and 244.

The jars of treasure already begin to make their appearance in the Gupta period (cf. MASI No. 16, pl. XIII a) and continue to be depicted in association with the god in the mediaeval period.

ORIGINAL SITES OF SOME IMPORTANT TEMPLES OF VARANASI

By KUBERA NATH SUKUL*

Varanasi saw the destruction of her temples at least four times, if not five, and each time they sprang up once again soon after these waves of tyranny passed off—some times in their original splendour, but often in a more subdued form. If their original sites were situated at a distance from the seats of local Muslim rulers there was no difficulty, but when this was not the case their location had to be changed. Thus some important temples have had to be shifted more than once while others have changed their place only once. To illustrate this point the temple of Viśveśvara had to move from its place twice, while Kāla Bhairava moved but once. Not only this, each wave of destruction resulted in the disappearance of dozens of shrines, for all of them could not be rebuilt. Thus, in course of time popular memory about these matters started growing dim and as this uncertain and unfortunate condition continued for almost five hundred years, some important facts were forgotten and also some misconceptions arose. After the downfall of the Moghuls, these cataclysms ceased and the temples of Varanasi once again raised their proud heads in peace. Hundreds of temples in ruins—some of them for hundreds of years—were re-built and in this process quite a good number of them got duplicated. This peaceful revival began during the reign of Maharaja Balwant Singh of Varanasi and continued during the British rule.

Recent historians, writing about Varanasi as a centre of Hindu religion, have raised certain controversies about the original sites of some well-known temples; changes in the location of some others due to the iconoclastic zeal of the Muslim rulers of India have also obliterated popular memory about their earlier sites. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to clear these misconceptions and to revive those older memories once again.

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* 31/25-26 Kal Bhairava, Varanasi.

1. Between 1194 A.D. and 1669 A.D.

(i) *Viśveśvara*

The temple of Viśveśvara has been the greatest victim at the hands of these historians, who have placed it everywhere except at its real site. Dr. K. V. Rangswami Aiyyangar's statement[2] that "it is more than doubtful if the present shrine of Viśwanatha stands on the site of that of the original Avimukteśwara or even of the less important Viśveśwar known to Lakṣmidhara" is a truism, which every child in Varanasi knows because portions of the earlier temple forming part of the Jñānavāpī mosque of Aurangzeb proclaim this fact in quite uncertain terms.

Dr. Altekar in his *History of Benaras* contents himself with saying that "we have very little evidence as to its site and size" but continues to prove that it was not situated at the site of the Ādiviś-veśvara temple. In this connection he produces two arguments—one, that if "Ādi-viśveśwara were the same as "Viśwanātha, and if his temple was shifted first to the site of the mosque of Aurangzeb and then to the place of the present Viśwanātha temple, one fails to under-stand how a temple of Ādi-viśveśwara could be existing at present apart from, and in addition to the present temple of Viśwanātha," and second, that Purāṇas mention that Jñānavāpī was to the South of the temple of Viśvanātha; tradition knows no such well to the south of the old Ādi-viśveśwara temple in its compound. Later accepting that the present Jñānavāpī is the south of the original Ādi-viśveśvara temple, he argues that this does not satisfy the Purāṇic description because it is more than four hundred feet away from it and because "the big Lala Lajpat Rai Road, which separates the compounds of the old Viśvanātha and the old Ādiviśveśwara temple appears to be quite an old road, dividing the two compounds from ancient times."

This question about the original site of the Viśveśwara temple is discussed at greater length and in more than one place in Dr. Moti Chandra's *Kāśī-kā Itihāsa* published recently.

(1) On page 171 he practically repeats Dr. Aiyyangar's views given above but adds that according to *Kṛtyakalpataru Tirtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa* the place of Avimukteśwar was in the north of Varanasi.

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2. In his Introduction to Lakshmidhar's *Kṛtyakalpataru's Tīrtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa.*

(2) On page 401 he paraphrases Dr. Altekar's views and says that when the old temple of Viśvanātha was destroyed the new temple was erected nearby. Paurāṇic lore places Jñānavāpī south of Viśvanātha temple but there is no such well south of Ādiviśveśvara.

(3) Later, on the some page (401), he states that it is not definitely known where the temple of Viśvanātha was in the Gaharwal period but it is possible that it must have been in the northern part of the city.

Let us now examine this question on its merits. Dr. Aiyyangar, writing at Baroda—quite a thousand miles away from Varanasi had to depend on literature available to him. He had no occasion to investigate such matters himself and depended on second hand material. It is even doubtful if he ever saw the Jñānavāpī mosque and its western facade. The vagueness of his statement can, therefore, be understood.

Dr. Altekar's position is, however, different. He wrote at Varanasi and after seeing things for himself. He must have read Sherring's book, which had accepted the position that the mosque adjoining the Ādi-viśveśvara temple may have been the original site of the Visveśvara temple. Speaking about the Ādi-viśveśvara temple, Sherring says:[3] "On the eastern side of the enclosure, the ground becomes considerably elevated, and upon it stands a mosque built of very old materials, the pillars of which date as far back as the Gupta period and possibly earlier. May not these old stones and pillars be remains of the original Visheshwar ?" Later, he says:[4] "There is no doubt in our mind that the Ādi-Visheshwar temple stood on this site, and was destroyed by the Mohammedans, who, as usual transferred its stones to their own mosque." It is, therefore, surprising that instead of basing his conclusions on Purāṇic grounds alone that Jñānavāpī is not as near the Ādi-viśveśvara temple as it should be, he supports his views by referring to the Lajpat Rai Road as an old one. In fact, however, he is on unsure ground in both these arguments. It is obvious that he had not read *Kṛtyakalpataru's* Tirtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa, for if he had done so, he would have not only learnt that before 1194 A.D. Jñānavāpī was to the south of Avimukteśvara not Viśveśvara, but also that the original Viśveśvara

3. In his famous book on p. 55.

4. P. 320.

temple was situated on the elevated ground mentioned by Sherring. Nor had he seen Princep's and Bax's maps of Varanasi it appears, for if he had, he would have discovered that Lajpat Rai Road is not even a hundred years old. It did not exist in 1822 or even in 1863 when Bax published his map of Varanasi.

To take up now the views expressed in *Kāsī-kā Itihāsa,* it can be squarely asserted that *Kṛtyakalpataru Tīrtha Viveccana Kāṇḍa* does not say anywhere that the temple of Viśveśvara or Avimukteśvara was situated in the northern part of the town. Nor does it say that Jñānavāpī was to the south of Viśveśvara temple; and if Lakṣmīdhara's contemporary testimony as suggested by his quotation of *Liṅga Purāṇa* on the subject of the site of Viśveśvara temple is of any value we are not left in any doubt about its location in Gaharwal period.

पूर्वोत्तरदिशाभागे तस्य (विश्वेश्वरस्य) देवस्य सुन्दरि ।
अवधूतं महत्तीर्थं सर्वपापापनुत्तमम् ।।
तस्य पूर्वेण संलग्नं नाम्ना पशुपती वरम् ।5

This quotation from *Liṅga Purāṇā* clearly says that to the north-east of Viśveśvara, there is the big Avadhūta Tīrtha, to the east of which is the temple of Paśupatīśvra. This latter temple is well-known and the topography of the locality clearly indicates that the big lake known as Avadhūta Tīrtha extended right up to the eastern edge of the Lajpat Rai Road, where the Allahabad Bank and Khatri Medical Hall are situated. And just across the road towards south-west of this point is situated the structure known as Razia's mosque. Could there is a more dependable description of the location of the Viśveśvara temple?

Our historian friends have also shut their eyes to the fact that the Ādi-viśveśvara temple does not claim to be an old one. It was built, as every one knows, by Sawai Jai Singh in the eighteenth century to mark the locality near where the original Viśveśvara temple had stood. The temple was erected when the present Viśvanātha liṅgam had been already installed for many years and was being worshipped by every one as Viśveśvara. So the intention of erecting this temple near the old site was merely as a memorial and not as a subsitute of the then existing Viśvanātha.

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5. लिंगपुराण–कृत्यकल्पतरुतीर्थ विवेचनकाण्ड–पृ०–९३.

(ii) *Kāla Bhairava*

The original site of Kā'a Bhairava temple has been so completely forgotten that even though clearly indicated in Paurāṇika literature, it is no longer part of popu'ar religious memory. The reason for this is not far to seek. After the first iconoclastic depredation of 1194 A.D., the then Mus'im officers in charge of Varanasi took up their residence near the locality where Kāla Bhairava's temp'e had stood and when the first re-construction of the temple took place it was considered impossib'e to re-erect the temple on the o'd site. The deity was an important one and the number of devotees paying their homage regularly had been quite considerab'e. So, it was decided to instal Kāla Bhairava in a safer locality away from the direct eye of the Muslim Officers. There was the ruin of the old Bhairaveśvara temple and it was certainly a suitable place, so it was thought; and Kāla Bhairava was duly installed at this new site—the present one. This event took place before the present form of *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* got into shape i.e. more than six hundred years ago. No temple was erected and the deity continued to be worshipped under a tiled roof, which saved it from destruction during subsequent iconoclastic catac'ysms. As these six hundred years rolled on, the original site was completely surrounded by Muslim houses, mosques and what not, and out of 50 or 60 temples in the locality before 1194 A.D. on'y three exist now. This accounts for the total obliteration of the original site from popular memory. *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* mentions both the sites in two different places:

Bhairava had Brahmā's fifth head sticking to his left hand and could not get rid of it. He moved round from one Tīrtha to another till he came to Varanasi and took his bath at a place where the Ganga and Matsyodarī waters were mingling at the time due to high floods, and by virtue of this bath the head dropped from Bhairava's hand and Bhairava took his abode near that p'ace and the Tīrtha came to be consequently known as Kapā'a Mocana Tīrtha, a tank. This tank was to the north of Matsyodarī Tīrtha and south of Ṛṇa-Mocana Tīrtha.

(१) तत्रैव तीर्थं परमं कपालेशसमीपतः ।
कपालमोचनं नाम तत्रस्नातोश्वमेधभाक् ॥
ऋणमोचनतीर्थं तु तदुदग्दिशि शोभनम् [काशीखंड–९७।६५–६६]

(२) अन्यश्च ते प्रवक्ष्यामि महातीर्थं यशस्विनि ।
कपालमोचनं नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् ॥
कपालपतितं तत्र स्नातस्य मम सुन्दरि ।
कपालेश्वरनामानं तस्मिंस्तीर्थं व्यवस्थितम् ॥
तस्यैव चोतरे पार्श्वे तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् ।
ऋणमोचनकं नाम्ना विख्यातं भुवि सुन्दरि ॥ [6]

It was very near the Oṅkāreśvara temple towards the west. Rani Bhawani constructed stone steps round it and in Princeps' map (1822 A.D.) it is called Rani Bhawani's Tank. Bax in his map (1863 A.D.) calls it Matsyodarī Saṅgama. The tank is now lying dry in ruins and residents of the locality make use of its stones in the construction of their houses. For reasons mentioned in the case of Kāla Bhairava above, this tank too was left to its fate and along with it, the temple of Oṅkāreśvara on its high mound, which latter is now being used as a Muslim grave-yard. At some stage during these six hundred years the Bhairava Tīrtha attached to Mahāśmaśāna Stambha and Kula Stambha was re-dedicated as Kapāla Mocana Tīrtha and is now known as such.

(iii) *Vīreśvara*

Vīreśvara, now known as *Ātma-Vīreśvara,* is also an early settler in his present surroundings, but later than Kāla Bhairava for *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* mentions only his original place. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, he had occupied his present site along with his neighbours as *Tristhalī Setu* and *Guru Caritra* mentions his present location *in situ* as an accepted fact.

Old *Liṅga Purāṇa,* as quoted in *Tīrtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa* of *Kṛtya-Kalpataru,* places Vīreśvara to the north of Svarlingeśvara in the Pañcamudrā mahāpīṭha. Candreśvara, Vidyeśvara, Vāsukīśvara, were nearby and Sagareśvara was towards its north-west. Svarliṅgeśvara temple is near the Rajghat road where it reaches the Ganges east of Prahladghat, and north of it somewhere nearby should be the old site of Vīreśvara, now entirely lost to memory. *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* mentions Agnīśvara as situated to the east of Vīreśvara on the western bank of the Gangā[7] and the old site of Agnīśvara is still remembered

6. लिंगपुराण—कृत्यकल्पतरुतीर्थ विवेचन काण्ड पृ०—४०—५५
7. वीरेश्वरस्य पूर्वेण गंगायाः पश्चिमे तटे—काशी खंड ११।१६०

and is located near house no. A12/2, not far from Svarliṅgeśvara. On this basis the location of Vīreśvara could be approximated, but more research is needed to fix the exact location. This site is very rich in old and broken Śivaliṅgas jumbled together in ruins in a topsy-turvy condition.

(iv) *Mahādeva*

This deity, known by this simple name, has been the cause of confusion to *Kāsī-kā Itihāsa* and has created absurdities in that book, because he has been there given the name of Avimukteśvara without any authority and in utter disregard of *Liṅga Purāṇa* itself, where it has been called simply 'Mahādeva', and where every reference to it has been made under this very title.[8] *Liṅga Purāṇa* as quoted in *Kṛtyakalpataru* starts its enumeration of Śiva-liṅgas in Varanasi with Mahādeva and places others in reference to him. Thus Varanasi Devī and Mahādeva Kūpa are placed near him and Goparakṣeśvara to his east. South of the latter were Dadhīceśvara, Ātrīśvara, Madhu-kaiṭabheśvara, Vījavareśvara successively. To the east of Goparakṣe-śvara were Balākeśvara, Vījavareśvara, and Vedeśvara, one after the other, and to the north of the last named was Keśava and near him Saṅgameśvara. Thus Goparakṣeśvara was not very far from Keśava now known as Ādikeśava, at the Gaṅga-Varuṇa Saṅgama. To the north-west of Goparakṣeśvara was a well, the Hiraṇyakaśipu Kūpa, and to its east Gaṇeśvara. All these deities have lost their original places, except perhaps Vedeśvara and Keśava, so we get little help from them in fixing the location of Goparakṣeśvara, but the wells are of help. There are three wells in a line east and west in the old Rajghat fort area and perhaps the eastern-most could be the Hiraṇyakaśipu well. In that case the middle well could be the Mahādeva Kūpa and the original site of Mahādeva temple could be located there. The Banaras Hindu University may perhaps some day excavate the nearby sites of these three wells and we may then be definite about this matter.

Mahādeva, at present, known as Ādi-Mahādeva, is now housed in a modern temple towards the east of the famous shrine of Trilocaneśvara. At one time it was a very important place of pilgrimage but it no longer commands that position now.

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8. Vide pp. 41, 42 and 46.

(v) *Kedāreśvara*

In spite of the popular local belief that the temple of Kedāreśvara escaped unhurt during the various iconoclastic storms that overran Varanasi, there is evidence to prove that this temple too was demolished and re-built in due course at a new site some hundred yards northwards of the original place. *Guru Caritra,* a Marathi book written towards the end of the fifteenth century describes the pilgrimage route followed in the Dakṣiṇa Mānasa Yātrā at the time. According to this list the pilgrim after visiting Kedāreśvara and Gaurīkuṇḍa paid his homage to Vṛddhakedāra before reaching the Hanuman Ghat. Thus the old site of Kedāreśvara had a rededicated Śiva liṅgam at the time and was situated between Kedāraghāt. Tradition, now being forgotten and lost, placed the Ādi-Maṇikarnikā of *Kāśī Kedāra Māhātmya* of the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa,* at the ghat, lying between these two ghats, now called Hariścandra ghāt, where there is a cremation ground too in memory of and out of respect for his Ādimaṇikarṇikā, and it is but reasonable to suppose that the Ādimaṇikarṇikā, representing the Gaurī Kuṇḍa, the Haṃsa Tīrtha, and the Reta Kuṇḍa of the Himalayan Kedāra Shrine lay under the shadow of Lord Kedāreśvara himself. Thus the original site of this great temple lay on the top of the present Hariścandra ghāt and there is still a temple and a Śiva liṅgam there though its name has been forgotten. It may be clearly mentioned here that this ghāt has nothing whatsoever to do with Mahārāja Hariścandra, the truthful, who was sold at the Maṇikarṇikā ghāt and not here.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE ANCIENT LAND OF UTTARAKURU

By DR. SHYAM NARAIN PANDE*

The whole of the world is divided into several dvīpas by the ancient Indian geographers. The number of the dvīpas is variously enumerated by different authorities as four[1] and seven;[2] the number is increased also to nine,[3] thirteen[4] and eighteen.[5] The four-island conception places the Meru mountain as the pericarp of the four petalled earth-lotus. The Uttarakuru is the northern petal. Its situation has been described in between Meru and Nīla mountains.[6] Nīla has not yet been identified. Shri Nand Lal De locates it

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P.=*Purāṇa.*

Mb.=*Mahāhbhārata*—Poona Critical Edition.

1. *'Tasya pārśve tvime dvīpāścatvārah saṁsthitā prabho.*
Bhadrāśvaḥ Ketumālaśca Jambūdvīpāśca Bhārata.
Uttarāścaiva Kuravaḥ Kṛtapuṇya pratiśrayāḥ.'
Mb., 6. 7. 11.

'Sa tu meruḥ parivṛto bhuvanairbhūta bhāvanaiḥ.
Yasye me caturo deśā nānāpārśvesu saṁsthitāḥ.
Bhadrāśvam Bhārataṅcaiva Ketumālañca paścime.
Uttarāścaiva kuravaḥ kṛtopuṇya pratiśrayāḥ.
Matsya, p. 113. 43-44.

2. *Ādi, P.* 4. 48-49; 5. 6. 7; 16. 2. 14.
Harivaṁśa P. 4. 4. 5;5. 291; 5. 577.
Mb., 1. 22. 5; 3. 214. 31; 6. 8. 18; 6. 9. 2; 6. 12. 11. 12; 6. 13. 6. 9. 24; 9. 16. 50; 12. 14. 23 (footnote).

3. *Agni P.* 219. 54—56.
Vāmana P. 13. 8. 11.

4. *Naiṣadhacarita*, I. 5.

5. *Harṣacarita—Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana* (Dr. V. S. Agrawala), p. 121-22.
Liṅga, P. 20. 20.
Vāyu P. 2. 15.

6. *Vāyu*, p. 34. 45-46 (for lotus-shaped earth).
'Dakṣiṇena tu Nīlasya Meroḥ pārśve tathottare.
Uttaraḥ Kuravo rajanpuṇyāh Sidhaniṣevitāḥ.'
Mb., 6. 8. 2.

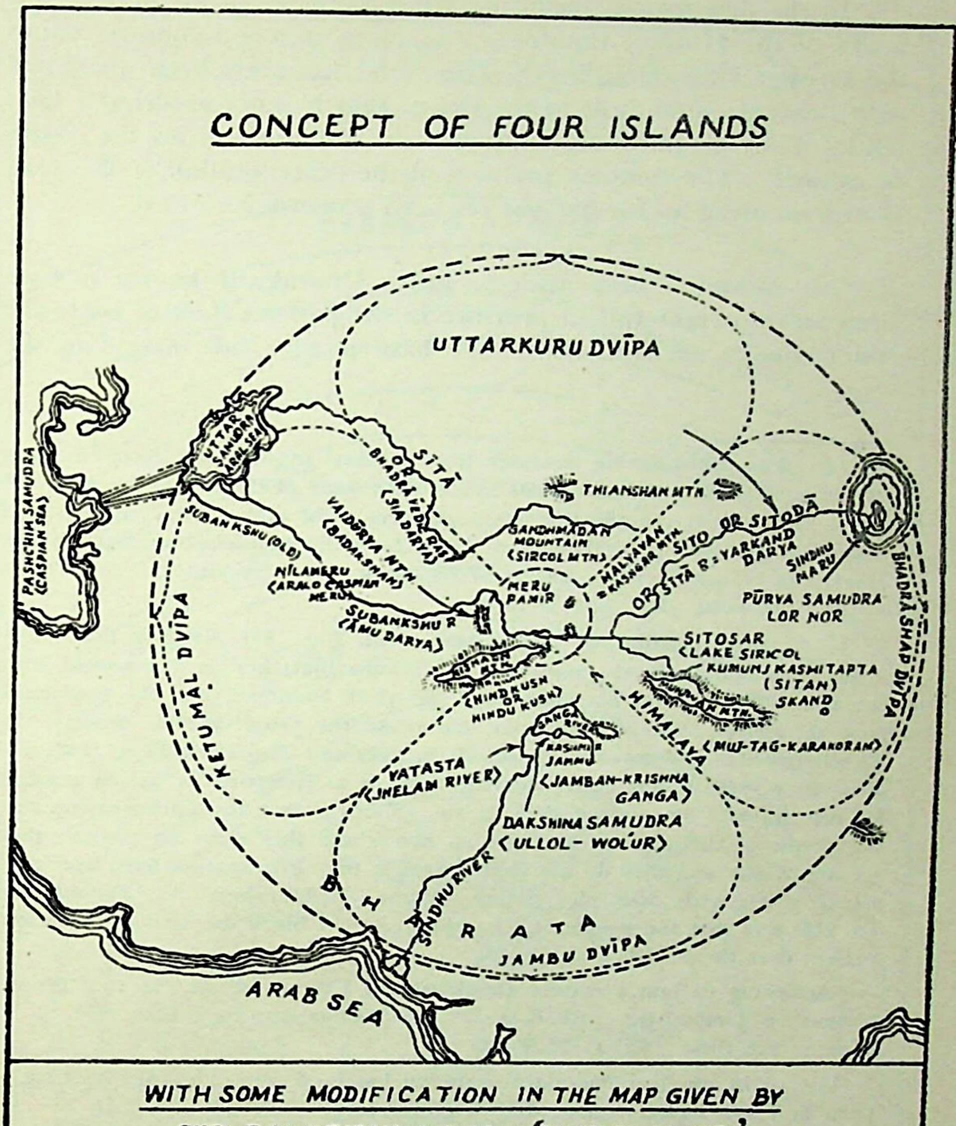
towards Kunlun range, which location is baseless. His identification of Uttarakuru with North Korea[7] has got no meaning when Candradvīpa, the original homeland of Śakas has been accepted in the east of Uttarakuru.[8] The *Matsya Purāṇa* introduces a varṣa (i.e. country) named Ilāvṛta around Meru mountain[9] which pushes the locations of all the four dvīpas to their respective directions. In Buddhist tradition eastern and western dvīpas get new names.[10] The northern Uttarakuru dvīpa is also called Kurudvīpa.[11]

The other concept of seven islands locates Uttarakuru in the utmost north[12] as one of the nine varṣas of Jambūdvīpa. This new conception created greatest confusion. Jambūdvīpa which was the southern dvīpa in the former concept comes to denote the whole of the world of that conception. The other new six dvīpas are imaginary and geographically they existed nowhere. The four dvīpas of the former conception are called as varṣas having their original locations on earth. The southern dvīpa of the former conception is now called Bhāratavarṣa while the other name of this very land is borrowed to represent the world of the four dvīpas. Like the Matasya Purāṇa tradition, the four new varṣas, Ramyakavarṣa, Hiraṇmayavarṣa, Harivarṣa and Kiṁpuruṣavarṣa, are introduced making the real position of the former four divisions unaffected. There is no account of territorial transfer of Uttarakuru or Bhāta which may lead us to think that these were the names of some parts of the former dvīpas. These new varṣas should utmost be taken as named after the utilization of un-inhabited regions in the north and south of Meru. Thus even after the introduction of the new varṣas in the seven-dvīpa concept the position of Uttarakuru remains unchanged.

The Jains divide Jambūdvīpa in two bhogabhūmis, Devakuru and Uttarakuru.[13] Uttarakuru here also retains the former position.

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7. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, (1927).
8. *Indian Art*, part I, page 70 (Late Dr. V. S. Agrawala).
9. *Matsya P.*, 113. 37.
10. *Mahāvastu*, II, pp. 159, 378; *Lalitavistara*, p. 19; *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 84.
11. *Dīpavaṁśa*, p. 16.
12. Vide map No. 2-concept of seven islands.
13. *Ādi P.* 3. 24.


CONCEPT OF FOUR ISLANDS
UTTARKURU DVĪPA
UTTAR SAMUDRA ARAL SEA
PASHCHIM SAMUDRA (CASPIAN SEA)
SITĀ OR BHADRĀ VEDRAS (SIA DARYA)
VAIDŪRYA MTN (BADAKSHAN)
SUBANKSHU (OLD)
NILAMERU (ARAKO CASMIR) MERU
SUBANKSHU R (AMU DARYA)
THIANSHAN MTN
GANDHMADAN MOUNTAIN (SIRCOL MTN)
MALYAVAN = KASHGAR MTN
SITO OR SITODĀ
OR SITĀ R = YARKAND DARYA
SINDHU MARU
MERU PAMIR
PŪRVA SAMUDRA LOR NOR
BHADRĀ SHAP DVĪPA
SITOSAR (LAKE SIRICOL)
KUMUNJ KASMITAPTA (SITAN) SKAND
HINDKUSH OR HINDU KUSH
HIMALAYA
(MUJ-TAG-KARAKORAM)
KETUMĀL DVĪPA
GANGA RIVER
KASHMIR JAMMU
(JAMBAN-KRISHNA GANGA)
VATASTA (JHELAM RIVER)
DAKSHINA SAMUDRA (ULLOL-WOLUR)
SINDHU RIVER
B H A R A T A
JAMBU DVĪPA
ARAB SEA
WITH SOME MODIFICATION IN THE MAP GIVEN BY
SHRI RAI KRISHNA DAS IN 'BHARAT SAVITRI'

MAP No. 1

In the descriptions regarding Uttarakuru, given in the religious books of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, it was a country within the Greater India periphery. The land has also been attributed with heavenly qualities[14] to the extent that it was considered a fairy land. Thus a misunderstanding[15] in its location on the earth is aroused. The complex problem of the exact location of this land is sti.l un olved and it has not yet been properly identified.

An effort has been made to locate Uttarakuru—known to have been an important Indian province in the past—in spite of confusing statements in ancient books. We have to give full margin to the

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14. The *Mahābhārata* describes that 'Siddhas' reside there; there the trees are always covered with sweet fruits and flowers; some of them yield fruits according to the will of the plucker; some of them yield milk, 'amṛta', clothes and ornaments; the men born there have fallen from the *Devalokas*, women are like 'apsarās' in beauty, they are free from illness; they are cheerful and live a long life of 11000 years (*Mb.*, 6. 8. 2 to 10).

In "Ātānātiya Sutta" of *Dīghanikāya* (Vol. 3, p. 154 Nalanda Edn. 1958) it has been said about the people of Uttarakuru that they do not possess individual wealth; they do not work hard for their livelihood but the foodgrains grow themselves; 'Yakṣas' have been said to be the people of this country. In *Aṅguttaranikāya* (*Manoratha Pūranī*, I, p. 264) and *Majjhimanikāya* (*Pañcasūdanī*, II, p. 948) it has been said that there is a 'Kamparukha' which remains for one 'Kalpa'. *Theragāthā* (Vol. II, pp. 187-88) gives a description saying that the people of this country have got no homes and they sleep on ground; they are not greedy and they do not collect wealth; they live up to a fixed age; they are of gentle and amicable nature. Ācārya Buddhaghosa in *Divyāvadāna* (p. 215) says that the people of Uttarakuru do not break the laws of 'Sadācāra' present over there (*Ādi P.* 3. 38--40).

According to Jain literature Devakuru and Uttarakuru are the two 'Bhogabhūmis' in Jambūdvīpa (*Ādi* P. 3. 24). Ten kalpatarus have been said to be present over there (*Ādi* P. 3. 38—40).

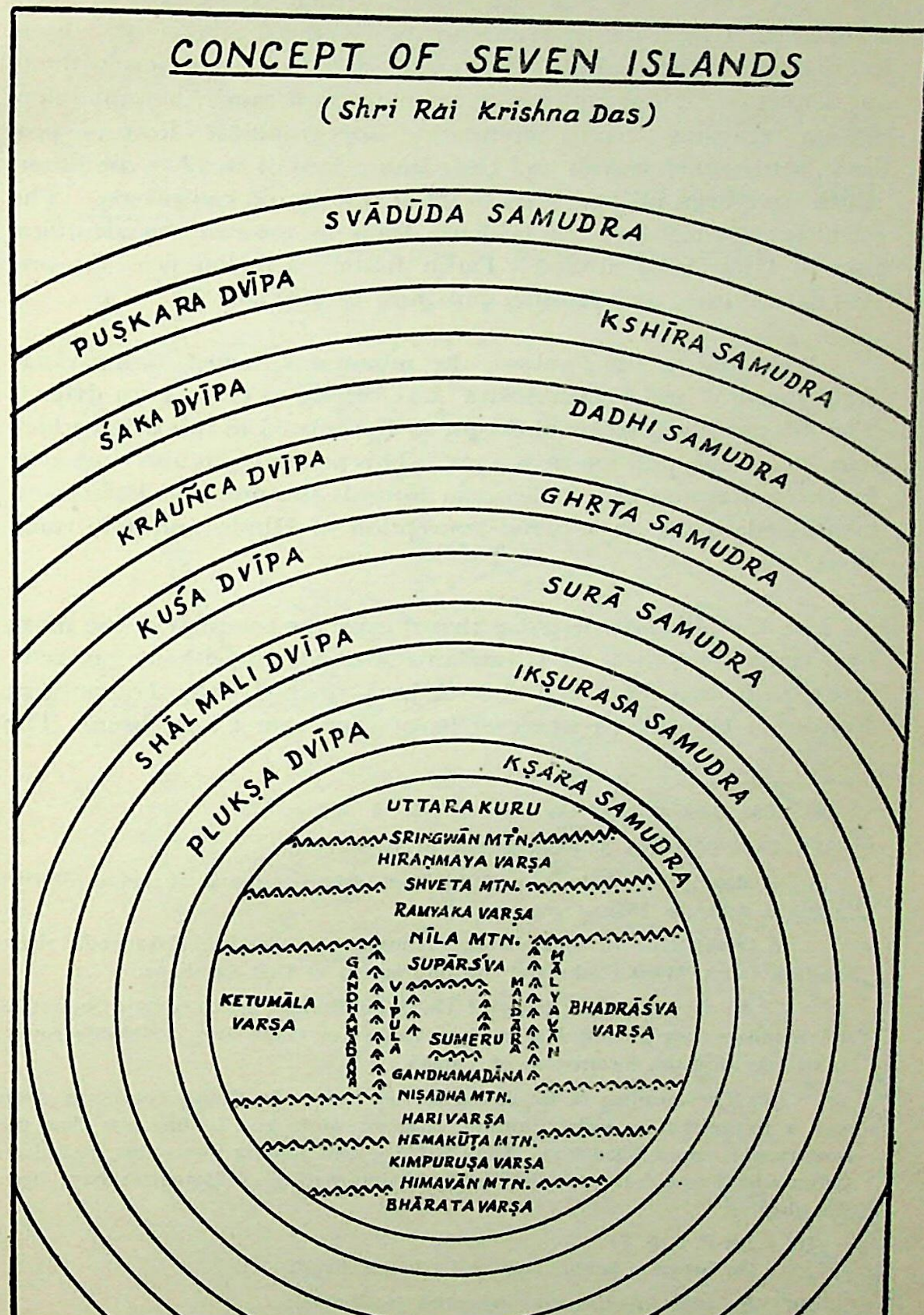
15. (i) In the *Mahābhārata* a confusion has been created by placing Uttarakuru in Viśāla Badarī region. It is a geographical error. *Mb.* 3. 145. 15.

(ii) In Buddhist literature, 'anotattadaḥ', a place where Buddha took his meals has been considered as "Mānasarovara" near Kailāsa. (*Vinayapiṭaka*, Hindi, p. 91).

(iii) *Ādi Purāṇa* also creates confusion by describing Sitodā river and Nīla mountain from the South to the North of Meru (*Ādi* P. 4. 51-52).

(iv) *Padma Purāṇa* (Chapter 128) describes the origin of Ganga river in Meru.

(v) The only mountain in Śakadvīpa is also named Meru. (*Mb.*, 6. 12. 14).


CONCEPT OF SEVEN ISLANDS
(Shri Rāi Krishna Das)
SVĀDŪDA SAMUDRA
PUṢKARA DVĪPA
KSHĪRA SAMUDRA
ŚAKA DVĪPA
DADHI SAMUDRA
KRAUÑCA DVĪPA
GHṚTA SAMUDRA
KUŚA DVĪPA
SURĀ SAMUDRA
SHĀLMALI DVĪPA
IKṢURASA SAMUDRA
PLUKṢA DVĪPA
KṢĀRA SAMUDRA
UTTARAKURU
SRINGWĀN MTN.
HIRAṆMAYA VARṢA
SHVETA MTN.
RAMYAKA VARṢA
NĪLA MTN.
SUPĀRŚVA
GANDHAMĀDANA
VIPULA
MANDARA
MĀLYAVĀN
KETUMĀLA VARṢA
BHADRĀŚVA VARṢA
SUMERU
GANDHAMADĀNA
NIṢADHA MTN.
HARIVARṢA
HEMAKŪṬA MTN.
KIMPURUṢA VARṢA
HIMAVĀN MTN.
BHĀRATAVARṢA

MAP No. 2

Mahābhārata describing the heavenly qualities of Uttarakuru refers to the land as full of rubies and sands. A definite term *Sūkṣma-Kāñcanabālukā*[21] is used for the sands of the land. This term may be interpreted in two ways. If we take that the composer has described land poetically, the word referred to will mean that the sand particles are small in size and golden in colour. The description with this meaning may lead us to say that the composer of the verse is clearly mentioning the loose soil of southern Siberia. However, the 'gold dust' or the 'ant gold' of the region is also well-known as referred to by Sir W. W. Tarn and Dr. Moti Chandra.[22] This reference of 'gold dust' may also be well fitted to the meaning of the word that the small gold particles were mixed with sand. This Siberian gold was known among the Mangolian and Tibetan sages and was exported to Bactria etc. The 'gold dust' referred to by Herodotus and 'ant gold' by Megasthenese and the *Mahābhārata* has been taken to be the gold of southern Siberia by Tarn.[23]

The climatic condition of the region is also described in various ślokas.[24] The presence of trees, fruits etc. indicates that the seasons are agreeable and the land is situated in temperate zone. The land is described as *niṣpaṅka*[25] in the *Mahābhārata* which indicates the absence of miry land. The word *niṣpaṅka* indicates the water absorbing nature of the land. One of the species of birds of Uttarakuru named Bhāruṇḍa takes the dead bodies up and throws them into mountain caves.[26] Thus the land seems to be in the vicinity of some mountain.

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21. *'Sarvā maṇimayī bhūmiḥ sūkṣma-kāñcanabālukā.'*
Mb., 6. 8. 6.

22. Dr. Motichand: *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata—Upavanaparava* (1954).

23. Sir W. W. Tarn: *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 106–108.

24. *'Nitya puṣpaphalopagāḥ.'*
'Vṛkṣa Madhuphalā.'
Mb., 6. 8. 3.
Kṣīriṇo nāma Vṛkṣāḥ...
Mb., 6. 8. 4. 8.

25. *Mb.*, 6. 8. 4.

26. *'Bhāruṇḍā nāma Śakunāstīkṣṇatuṇḍā mahābalāh.*
Te nirharanti hi mṛtāndarīṣu prakṣipanti ca.'
Mb., 6. 8. 11.

Uttarakuru was definitely known to Buddha and his disciples. The *Jātakas* clearly place the region in the north of Himalaya mountain.[27] The *Vinayapiṭaka* says that Buddha took his lunch at Anotattadah.[28] In Pali literature Uttarakuru has been described as an agricultural country. Not only Buddha but many of his disciples visited this country from time to time to get alms.[29] Jotika, the father of Dīrghāyu Upāsaka of Rājagṛha, was married in Uttarakuru.[30] It shows close connections between India of Buddhist time and the ancient land of Uttarakuru. The scholars have identified the Uttarakuru of the Buddhists with the Uttarakuru of the *Ṛgveda*.[31] The *Ṛgvedic* description leads us to conclude the position of Uttarakuru in southern Siberia.

The key to exact location of Uttarakuru is also provided in Jain literature by a relative description which makes the position of Uttarakuru specific on the banks of the river Stodā.[32] This is also supported by the local name of Yarkand river, a tributary to Traim as 'Sito',[33] the name 'Sito' may well be taken to have been derived from 'Sitodā'.

According to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,[34] the river flowing to the east from Meru is called 'Sītā'. Its presence helps in identifying 'Sitodā', 'Sito' and 'Sītā' as the same river having different names. They are identical and help in the location of Uttarakuru which was situated to the north of this river. Some confusion is created by Nand Lal De who indentifies 'Sītā' as 'Sir Darya'[35] of Greek literature. Dr. Vasudeo Sharan Agrawala says that in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* 'Sīta' is a river flowing towards the west.[36] Hence, it is concluded that these versions

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27. *Soṇānanda-jātaka*, Jātaka, V. p. 316.

28. *Vinayapiṭaka* (Hindi), p. 91.

29. *Dhammapadātthakathā*, III, p. 222. *Aṭṭhasālinī* (Hindi). p. 14. *Mahāvaṁsa* (Hindi), 1. 18. *Jātaka*, V, p. 316; VI, p. 100. *Pañcasūdanī*, I, p. 340. *Paramātthajotika*, II, p. 420.

30. *Vinayapiṭaka, pārājikapāli*, p. 10 (Edited by Bhikkhu J. Kāsyapa).

31. *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, I, p. 356.

32. '*Dvīpe-a-paravidehesmin sitodānadyudaktaṭe.*'
Uttara P. 59. 109-10.

33. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa kā Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 139.

34. *Viṣṇu P.* 2. 2. 35—37.

35. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (1927).

36. *Matsya P.—a Study*, p. 208.

refer to two different rivers of the same name, one flowing towards the east is called 'Sito', 'Sitodā' or 'Sītā' and the other flowing towards the west is identified as 'Sītā' or 'Bhadrā' or Vedic 'Rasā'[37] or 'Sir Darya'. Dr. Agrawala's reference to river 'Sītā' flowing through 'Sindhu Maru' which ultimately falls in western sea creates confusion by a map of Shri Rai Krishna Das reproduced by Dr. Agrawala in that very volume in which 'Sindhu Maru' is identified in the east and not in the west.[38] It appears that the confusion between two rivers, though indicated, was not clear to scholars hence the contradictions. Both the rivers in the upper stages flow through the land of Ruṣāṇa tribe which may be identified as steppes of modern Russia according to Dr. Agrawala. The position of Uttarakuru shown by Shri Rai Krishna Das should be extended towards the east up to 'Sitodā' or 'Sītā' or 'Sito'. Thus an area shown by him in Bhadrāśva comes in Uttarakuru.[39] More clearly the whole of Uttarakuru is located between both the rivers by the name of 'Sītā' along with the northern boundary south of the probable past extension of the Aral sea.

Uttarakuru has been described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[40] as situated beyond Himalayas which confirms the above identification.

Dr. K. P. Jaiswal[41] and H. C. Ray Chaudhuri[42] have identified Uttarakuru as the present Siberia on the assumption that it is surrounded by 'Uttara Samudra' taking it to be Arctic ocean. Now the scholars identify the 'Uttara Samudra' with "Aral sea"[43] and not the "Arctic ocean." It is just possible that it was much bigger in the past and has gradually shrunk to its present dimension. When viewed in this light the description of 'Uttara Samudra' in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*[44] does not create any confusion. The "Śrīdharī Ṭīkā" of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* also recognizes its position to the South of 'Uttara Samudra' with a quotation from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[45]

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37. Vide Map No. 1 (towards western boundary of Uttarakuru).
38. Vide Map No. 1 (towards east).
39. Vide Map No. 1 (towards north of 'Sito', 'Sitodā' or 'Sītā').
40. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14. 4.
41. *Indian Antiquity*, 62, p. 170.
42. *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 71.
43. Shri Rai Krishna Das: Vide Map No. 1.
44. "*Uttara payasāṁ nidhiḥ.*" *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, 4. 43. 56.
45. *Vāyu P.* 2. 2. 44.

From the way in which Aral sea is still shrinking, it can be easily presumed that though it is smaller than many lakes, it has retained the name of sea owing to its original dimensions which must have provided still better agreeable climate in the absence of which now-a-days, Southern Siberia is facing a severe climate.

THE ĀRYAN PROBLEM

By S. K. Gupta*

Most of the anthropologists and geologists appear to be agreed that the modern man developed from some humanoid stem in the Pleistocene or the Recent era and has survived the Ice Age of this era. It has been held that originally human race is one which originated and developed at one place and spread from there throughout the world. Modern racial distinctions arose after man had migrated to distant lands from his birth place because of differences in altitude, climatic conditions, environment, group isolation, diet, environmental conditions and other more intangible factors which account not only for differences of pigmentation but also for shape and character of face, nose, hair and eye, the cephalic index, stature, physique, certain biochemical changes in blood and all other physical variations—and these are the basis of classification of human races today. These changes have not touched the basic traits in respect of which all members of the human species remain fundamentally alike, but only surface traits show Mendalian separation. All modern races of the world have spread from Northern India and Indo-China.[1]

Basically, therefore, there is only human race. All further categorisation is based on superficial physical or zoological differences which are supposed to distinguish one group from another. But there is no pure race. All have practically mixed together and inbred.

No problem of Āryan race as such, therefore, fundamentally exists. Sense of political, religious, social and cultural superiority over others and the desire to exploit them have given rise to racial distinctions and the consequent problems from time to time. Before the advent of the modern sciences of Anthropology, Ethnology, Socio-

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1. See Calvin Kephart, *The Races of Mankind*, Peter Owen Ltd., London (1961); Hadden, *Races of Man and Their Distribution, Cambridge* (1929); B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the Population*, Oxford University Press (1944).

logy and the like, religious and cultural problems existed but no racial problems appear to be traceable. These problems are a creation of these sciences.

Let us examine the evidence of the *Ṛgveda*. Some scholars have inferred from the use in the hymns of words like varṇa, anās, dāsa, dasyu and asura that there were two races—the Āryans and the Pre-Dravidian Aboriginals. The word Varṇa has been used in various senses in the *Ṛgveda*. Kṛṣṇa and dāsa varṇas signify the long period of darkness of Brahmā's night.[2] This is designated asura in *Rv.* X. 124 and the manyu or dāsa in another place.[3] Individual souls are eager to be relieved from this state. The long periods of dawn represent the six periods of creation from the first desire-seed sown by *Tad Eka* in the *apraketa salila*[4] and the appearance of the modern man.[5] Anās has been used of dasyus only once[6] in company with *mṛdhravācaḥ*—false (a term applied to Āryas also)[7] and hence can only be taken as a contemptuous term like the 'Hindi' *nakaṭā*. There is no more evidence in regard to the shape of nose, head, face, stature, eyes, blood and other physical features. Some gods have been described as possessing shining, white, compact and sharp teeth.[8] Agni and other gods possess brown, oily, shining, dense and waving hair.[9] No other information about human teeth and hair has yet come to light.

2. See Sudhir Kumar Gupta, *Vedalāvaṇyam* (Hindi), 10. 3, Bharati Mandira, Gorakhpur (now Jaipur).

3. *Ṛgveda* (Text, abbreviated as Rv.) I. 104. 2.

4. *Ibid.*, X. 129. 4.

5. Man was born at a very late stage in the process of creation. See *Manu Smṛti*, I. 8—31.

6. *Rv.* V. 29. 10.

7. *Ibid.*, VII. 18. 13.

8. Cp. the words *śúcidan* (*Rv.* V. 7. 7; VII. 4. 2); *śréṇidan* (*Rv.* X. 20. 3); *hiraṇyadantam* (*Rv.* V. 2. 3) and *krtvirdatī* (*Rv.* I. 116. 6).

9. Cp. *hárikeśa* (*Rv.* III. 2. 13; X. 37. 9; 96. 5; 8; 139. 1); *hiraṇyakeśa* (*Rv.* I. 79. 1; Feminine form in *Rv.* VIII. 32. 29; 93. 24); *ghṛtákeśa* (*Rv.* VIII. 60. 20); *śociśkeśa* (*Rv.* I. 45. 6; 50. 8; 127. 2; III. 14. 1; 17. 1; 27. 4; V. 8. 2; 41. 1); *vṛkṣákeśāḥ* (*Rv.* V. 41. 11); *vāyúkeśān* (*Rv.* III. 38. 6).

The word *vāra* when used as a second member in compounds, i.e., in compounds with the words puru, viśva, aśasta, dāti, bhūri, ṛdhad, vīta, jihma and nīcīna has not been interpreted as 'hair' by Sāyaṇa and others since its translation as 'hair' in these compounds is incompatible in the stanzas where they occur.

The *Ṛgveda often*[10] refers to five tribes which are often identified with the Yadus, Druhyus, the Turvaśas, the Purus, and the Anus. Yāska's *Nighaṇṭu*[11] regards these names as synonyms of man. Mankind has been classified here from various considerations into classes ranging from one to five. The *Yajurveda* raises the number to about 20. The classification into (a) Ārya and Dasyu or Dāsa, (b) Śūdra and Arya or Ārya are significant in our context.[12]

Śūdra has always been used before Arya and Ārya in Vedic stanzas[13] and has been associated with tapas by the *Yajurveda*.[14] It probably stood for the most learned and the ho'y among the Vedic people—the "ṛṣis."

The dasyus have been described as deceitful, inactive, unbelieving, inhuman, devoted to (unhealthy ?) vows, rich, unholy, non-sacrificing, opposed to gods, jealous, guards of iron cities, liars and dependent upon relatives. Āryas have also been described as liars. Mahidāsa Aitareya holds that some descendants of Viśvāmitra became dasyus.[15]

The words arya and ārya have the same connotation. Kephart[16] traces it to *Arii*, an ancient Persian tribal name, meaning 'noble men'. It has been used by the Persians, Bactrians, the Indians, the White and the Brown races of Āryas as a national name. It is, therefore, used as a racial name and has given rise to the Āryan Problem. Max Müller was careful enough to use the term strictly in its philosophical sense. In the *Ṛgveda*, it signifies a noble, gentle, godfearing, believing, truthful, active and human being as contrasted with the dasyus. It also stands for cultivators and was thus a generic name for all the Vedic people. Dayānand Sarasvatī also holds so.[17]

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10. See the phrases 'pañca janāḥ' and 'pañca kṛṣṭīḥ'.

11. *Nighaṇṭu* of Yāska edited by Dayananda Sarasvati, Ajmer, (1968 V. S.).

12. Sudhir Kumar Gupta, *Saṭippaṇā Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtrāṇi*, Bhūmikā. Paras 42—49.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Yajurveda*, XXX, 5—'*tapase śūdram*'.

15. Sudhir Kumar Gupta, *Ṛksūktāni*, 16. 9.

16. Kephert, *Races of Mankind*, London (1961). pp. 72-73

17. *Dayananda Sarasvati ke Patra aura Vijñāpana*, edited by Bhavaddatta, Lahore, (2002 V.S.), Letter No. 298, PP. 361. Para 7—cp. '*isa deśa vālō kā nāma (ārya) aura isa deśa kā nāma "Āryāvarta" hai.*' Also see letter No. 48, pp. 99. His interpretation of the word '*ārya*' in his commentaries on Vedic stanzas may also been seen.

The term *Śiśna Devāḥ* has merely a cultural and religious connotation.[18] It has no bearing on the racial contents.

There is, thus, no anthropological and ethnological evidences or information in the *Ṛgveda* in regard to the Āryan and Non-Āryan Pre-Dravidian Aborigial races.

What could then be the original home of the Āryan or the human race? On linguistic, geological and traditional accounts of *Vedic* and *Paurāṇika* literature supported by evidences from the *Avestā* and elsewhere, some Indian scholars have located the original home of the Āryans somewhere in Northern Indian hills and plains.[19]

As I have pointed out elsewhere[20] the Vedic language originates from a monosyllabic source. Monosyllabic languages are spoken in some form or the other in some Himalayan tracts, Burma, Malaya, Anam, Tibbet and China, as well as in Sudan.[21] Except the last, the rest lie in one geographically closely knit area. Vedic language too must have originated and developed somewhere in this or near this belt. At the time of flood, Manu takes shelter in the Himalayan region called *Manoravasarpaṇam*.[22] In the Pre-flood period there appears to have been a close connection with Tibbet, which is known as *Triviṣṭapa* and the land of gods in Indian literature. The Himalayas have risen to their present height in the Recent Era. There is no conclusive evidence in regard to the topography of 'Sapta Sindhu.' Efforts to trace it in Iran and elsewhere are futile. Names can be borrowed and carried by migrating persons and hence are deceptive. *Aryaṇam Vaejo* is Skt. *Āryāṇām Vāsaḥ* and not *Āryāṇām Bījaḥ* as surmised by Dr. J. P. Singhal.[23] It appears, therefore, that

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18. See S. K. Gupta, Coconut (Tryambaka) in the *Ṛgveda* is the origin of Śiva Cult, Paras 17—28, Śodha Bhāratī, Lucknow, 1. 1.

19. See Lachhmi Dhar, *The Home of the Aryas*, Delhi (1930); Abinash Chandra Das, *Ṛgvedic India*, Calcutta (1927); Jwala Prasad Singhal, *The Sphinx Speaks*, New Delhi (1963); Articles listed in R. N. Dandekar, *Vedic Bibliography*, II. 81. 1; 13; 62; 65; 66; 84; 92; 115; 129; 130, 131.

20. S. K. Gupta, "Monosyllabic Origin of the Vedic Language", *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol. XIX, No. 1—4.

21. Bhola Nath Tiwari, *Bhāṣā Vijñāna*, Allahabad, (1961), pp. 77.

22. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Acyuta Granthamālā Kāryālaya, Kashi (1994 VS), 1. 8. 1. 6.

23. Jwala Prasad Singhal, *The Sphinx Speaks*, New Delhi, (1963), pp. 23.

the Sapta Sindhu[24] signified the entire tract of land occupied by Vedic Āryans. It was divided into three regions—the *Tri-sadhastha*[25] (probably Tibbet), the mid-regions[26] (probably the Himalyan tracts) and this land[27] (the Northern India from east to west). The centre of activity appears to have been diverted from the land of the "devas" to the land of the "manuṣyas" through the land of the gandharvas and we, thus, know of the land of "manuṣyas"[28] only. There is no conclusive and reliable positive or negative evidence about the birthplace of the first man. All information relates to post-flood period. Since there is no reference to Manu's flood in the *Ṛgveda*, the accounts of this work can safely be regarded pre-flood.

The floods of Manu, Noah and Avestā, the uprising of the Kaśyapa lake in Kashmir, and the Ice Pleistocene Era (Ice Age of the geologists) probably refer to the same event. In this event most of the pupulation of the world perished. Some people survived here and there. Isolation and climatic conditions produced the racial traits now known to us. Agastya's drinking of the ocean symbolises the disappearance of the Tethys sea and the emergence of land connection of the Northern India with the Lemurian or the Gondwana continent.[29] Manu's descendants spread in Northern India, Southern India and elsewhere from the *Manoravasarpaṇam*. The *Nadī-Sūkta*[30] records a westward migration, probably of the pre-flood era.

Linguistic and cultural distinctions are uncertain in determining racial types. Monosyllabic languages transform into polysyllabic through various processes of pairing by permutation and combination of sounds which tend to change in different climates.[31] Main features of all the linguistic families are traceable in the *Ṛgvedic*

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24. *Sapta* means 'many, several'. See Sudhir Kumar Gupta, *Veda Lāvaṇyam*, 9, 3 (iii).

25. *Rv.* X. 61. 14.

26. *Rv.* I. 108. 9-10; V. 60. 6; X. 81. 5.

27. *Rv.* I. 154. 3; X. 81. 5.

28. Also see Jwala Prasad Singhal, *The Sphinx Speaks*, New Delhi (1963), Chapter IV, especially the last paragraph.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

30. *Rv.* X. 75.

31. S. K. Gupta, "Monosyallabic Origin of the Vedic Language," *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1—4.

language.[32] Cultural developments also depend upon geographical and other factors, e.g. cremation of the dead is resorted in a densely populated area with abundant fuel and burning material but yields place to burial in places of scarce burning material.

To conclude: There is no Āryan Problem as such, whether racial, cultural or linguistic. It is all a creation of the 19th and the 20th centuries in particular and is based in the sense of superiority and purity in the minds and thinking of a group of people desirous of exploiting the other people. The original home of the first man was somewhere in the Himalayas in Northern India from where all existing races of the world have dispersed and inhabited various lands.

32 Sudhir Kumar Gupta, 'Vaidika Bhāṣā Swarūpa' (Hindi), *Gurukul Patrika, Kangri,* Vol. 18. 1. Bhādrapada, 2022 V. S.

THE DATE OF THE *ARTHAŚĀSTRA*

By K. C. OJHA*

Now it has become an almost established fact that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, as we have it to-day, is a work of the early Christian centuries. Some of the Indian scholars, however, still persist in holding the traditional view that it belongs to the time of Candra Gupta Maurya. Recently Sri R. P. Kangle has come forward with a new edition and English translation of this work in three volumes. In the introduction of his work he has collected all the arguments in support of this opinion. But these arguments can hardly bear a close scrutiny.

Authorship

Almost all the manuscripts of the *Arthaśāstra* attribute its authorship to Kauṭilya in its numerous colophons at the end of its Chapters— "इतिकौटिलीयार्थशास्त्रे' It clearly means that the *Arthaśāstra* is the famous *Arthaśāstra* named after Kauṭilya. But a verse at the close of this work provides some more information about its authorship. It says that this particular *Arthaśāstra* was redacted in its present form by one Viṣṇugupta out of its numerous confusing texts :

दृष्ट्वा विप्रतिपत्त्विम् वहुधा शस्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम् ।
विष्णुगुप्त स्त्रयं चकार सूत्रञ्च भाष्यञ्च ॥

All this no doubt indicates that the original *Arthaśāstra* going in the name of Kauṭilya was in *Sūtra* form. Later on these *Sūtras* came to be associated with various commentaries or *bhāṣyas*. The *Arthaśāstra* which we find to-day is such an *Arthaśāstra* written by Viṣṇugupta. It is not the original *Arthaśāstra*.

Sri Kangle and other scholars accepting the traditional opinion take this verse at the fag end of our *Arthaśāstra* to be a later addition. But such an approach is obviously against the rules of textual criticism. When the verse is found in all the manuscripts, we have no

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language.[32] Cultural developments also depend upon geographical and other factors, e.g. cremation of the dead is resorted in a densely populated area with abundant fuel and burning material but yields place to burial in places of scarce burning material.

To conclude: There is no Āryan Problem as such, whether racial, cultural or linguistic. It is all a creation of the 19th and the 20th centuries in particular and is based in the sense of superiority and purity in the minds and thinking of a group of people desirous of exploiting the other people. The original home of the first man was somewhere in the Himalayas in Northern India from where all existing races of the world have dispersed and inhabited various lands.

32 Sudhir Kumar Gupta, 'Vaidika Bhāṣā Swarūpa' (Hindi), *Gurukul Patrika, Kangri*, Vol. 18. 1. Bhādrapada, 2022 V. S.

THE DATE OF THE *ARTHAŚĀSTRA*

By K. C. Ojha*

Now it has become an almost established fact that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, as we have it to-day, is a work of the early Christian centuries. Some of the Indian scholars, however, still persist in holding the traditional view that it belongs to the time of Candra Gupta Maurya. Recently Sri R. P. Kangle has come forward with a new edition and English translation of this work in three volumes. In the introduction of his work he has collected all the arguments in support of this opinion. But these arguments can hardly bear a close scrutiny.

Authorship

Almost all the manuscripts of the *Arthaśāstra* attribute its authorship to Kauṭilya in its numerous colophons at the end of its Chapters— "इतिकौटिलीयार्थशास्त्रे' It clearly means that the *Arthaśāstra* is the famous *Arthaśāstra* named after Kauṭilya. But a verse at the close of this work provides some more information about its authorship. It says that this particular *Arthaśāstra* was redacted in its present form by one Viṣṇugupta out of its numerous confusing texts :

दृष्ट्वा विप्रतिपत्विम् वहुधा शस्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम् ।
विष्णुगुप्त स्त्रयं चकार सूत्रञ्च भाष्यञ्च ॥

All this no doubt indicates that the original *Arthaśāstra* going in the name of Kauṭilya was in *Sūtra* form. Later on these *Sūtras* came to be associated with various commentaries or *bhāṣyas*. The *Arthaśāstra* which we find to-day is such an *Arthaśāstra* written by Viṣṇugupta. It is not the original *Arthaśāstra*.

Sri Kangle and other scholars accepting the traditional opinion take this verse at the fag end of our *Arthaśāstra* to be a later addition. But such an approach is obviously against the rules of textual criticism. When the verse is found in all the manuscripts, we have no

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authority to reject its authenticity. If the text found in the Mss. were not to be acccepted, the authenticity of the whole *Arthaśāstra* and for that of all the old works will have to be rejected.

It may not be out of place to mention here that the later Sanskrit writers have identified Viṣṇugupta with Kauṭilya out of confusion or mistake or reverence. In the early works Kauṭilya is never known as Viṣṇugupta. The well-known Sanskrit writer Dandin wrote his *Daśakumāracaritam* in the seventh century A.D. In this work at one place he says that Viṣṇugupta made a redaction of the *Arthaśāstra* literature 'recently' (इदानीम्). Kāmandaka, who composed his *Nītisāra* on the basis of the *Arthaśāstra* at about this time, refers to Viṣṇugupta as his teacher. So the latter also must have flourished about this time.

Style

All the works of the Sanskrit literature may be divided in two broad groups on the basis of their form. The earlier of them are written in the condensed *Sūtra* style as they had to be memorised for want of the common practice of writing books at that time. The detailed works appear only later on after the beginning of the Christian era. The *Arthaśāstra* as found to-day is a big work giving every thing in detail. At places, it no doubt bears the traces of *sūtra* style. But on the whole it is a work of *bhāṣya* type. At any rate on the basis of its style the present *Arthaśāstra* can hardly be placed among the early *Sūtra* works of the 3rd-4th centuries B.C. It must be placed much later after the opening of the Christian era when the first detailed works of Sanskrit literature came to be written.

Contents

The *Arthaśāstra* contains some material which is definitely indicative of its lateness. To cite only one example, it mentions not only China (Cīnabhūmi) but also China-silk (Cīnapaṭṭa). Now, the name China came into existence only in the third century B.C. No reference to the Chinese silk trade with the western world goes earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. The Chinese did not know any country to the west of the river Oxus till 128 B.C. The western countries including Greece and Rome, had no idea of China till still later times. So the *Arthaśāstra* containing the above references must have got its final shape much after the fourth century B.C. But Sri Kangle and other scholars of his way of thinking put forward

two lame excuses against this doubtless inference. First, they say that China might be known to the Indians even in the fourth century B.C., and it may be a mere chance that no other early writer happens to refer to this country. This type of thinking is, however, against all the principles of scientific induction. Without some positive evidence for the knowledge of China to India in the fourth century B.C. we cannot presume its existence. As said above, China itself was not known by this name up to this time. Secondly, there is a tag added by a later hand. This also is a conjecture pure and simple. Even if it be accepted to be correct, the fact remains that the present *Arthaśāstra* was finalized at a late date.

In its sūtra 1. 5. 14, the *Arthaśāstra* says that *itihāsa* means *purāṇa, itivṛtta, ākhyāyikā, udāharaṇa, dharmaśāstra,* and *arthaśāstra.* It shows that the present *Arthaśāstra* was written after all these works which can hardly be placed before the beginning of the Christian era. Sri Kangle thinks that this sūtra "is a marginal gloss... which got into he text." If numerous *sūtras* like this have got into the text of the *Arthaśāstra,* why should this work as a whole not be assigned to a later time?

In the earliest Sanskrit literature the political matters have been discussed only in the *dharmaśāstras.* Independent works on polity appear only in the later times. In the earliest *sūtra* literature also many other branches of learning have been grouped together. They begin to develop separately only in the later times. Even in the other old civilizations of the world, the secular books branch off from the religious treatises only at a later stage. On this ground it is generally thought that the *Arthaśāstra* must be dated much after the *dharmasūtras* which are generally placed in the fourth-fifth centuries B.C. But the traditionalist scholars presuppose the existence of the works on *Arthaśāstra* side by side with the *dharmasūtras* without any evidence for the existence of any *Arthaśāstra* at this time.

Similarly it is thought that the *Arthaśāstra* cannot be dated much before the Indian works on architecture, town-planning, alchemy, jewellery, goldsmithy, weapons, training of horses and elephants, writing of state documents and so on and so forth. All these works appear several centuries after Christ and contain some material found in the *Arthaśāstra.* But Sri Kangle says that the information in the *Arthaśāstra* on these matters might come from the earlier works on these subjects without adducing any evidence for their existence.

The earliest works of the ancient literatures all over the world containing common materials are generally thought to have been redacted at the same time from the general mass of literature floating in tradition. Some material of the *Arthaśāstra* is found also in the *Epics, Dharmaśāstras* etc. It means that the Arthaśāstra must be more or less contemporaneous with these works composed in their present form in the early Christian centuries. But without any positive evidence the traditionalists think that the *Arthaśāstra* is the earliest of all these works which have borrowed all the common material from it.

These scholars fail to appreciate the fact that the Indian civilization revealed by the *Arthaśāstra* is much more developed than that of the third-fourth centuries B.C. known definitely by the Indian archaeology including the inscriptions of Aśoka. Many terms and expressions found in later inscriptions appear in the *Arthaśāstra*. The strict control of the state over all the activities of society as envisaged in the *Arthaśāstra* was not posible in very olden times marked by the absence of easy means of transport and communication.

Thus there can be no legitimate doubt about the fact that the *Arthaśāstra* as we have it to-day is a redaction of the vast *Arthaśāstra* literature made by Viṣṇugupta about 600 A.D. Candragupta Maurya, who founded the first empire in India, might have initiated a new system of administration and thus brought into existence the branch of learning known as the *Arthaśāstra*. Kauṭilya may be a historical person or he may be only an anonymous originator created by the later tradition.

जल-प्लावन—एक ऐतिहासिक घटना

डा० द्वारिकाप्रसाद सक्सेना*

विश्व-साहित्य में जल-प्लावन की घटना का अत्यन्त गौरवपूर्ण स्थान है। शतपथब्राह्मण में इस जल-प्लावन को 'ओघ' कहा गया है, ।[१] पुराणों में इसे 'प्रलय' के नाम से पुकारा गया है और अंग्रेजी साहित्य में डैल्यूज (Deluge) नाम दिया गया है। ब्रह्मपुराण और विष्णुपुराण में तीन प्रकार के प्रलयों का उल्लेख मिलता है—नैमित्तिक प्रलय, प्राकृतिक प्रलय और आत्यंतिक प्रलय। एक कल्प के अन्त में होने वाले प्रलय को 'नैमित्तिक प्रलय', दो परार्द्धों में होने वाले प्रलय को 'प्राकृतिक प्रलय' और सम्पूर्ण सृष्टि का विनाश करने वाले प्रलय को 'आत्यंतिक प्रलय' कहा जाता है।[२] इन तीन प्रलयों के अतिरिक्त अग्निपुराण तथा भागवतपुराण में नित्य-प्रति प्राणियों का विनाश करने वाली एक चौथी 'नित्य प्रलय' का और उल्लेख मिलता है।[३] यह जल-प्लावन उक्त तीन प्रलयों में ही आता है।

इस जल-प्लावन अथवा प्रलय का वर्णन ऋग्वेद में नहीं मिलता। ऋग्वेद में 'नासदीय सूक्त' के अन्तर्गत केवल इतना ही कहा गया है कि सृष्टि के विकास से पूर्व यहाँ चारों ओर अंधकार छाया हुआ था और सर्वत्र जल ही जल व्याप्त था।[४] यजुर्वेद तथा सामवेद में भी इस जल-प्लावन की चर्चा नहीं मिलती, किन्तु अथर्ववेद में अवश्य इसका संकेत मिलता है। वहाँ 'कुष्ठ' नामक ओषधि का वर्णन करते हुए उसे हिमालय की उस चोटी पर उत्पन्न हुई बतलाया है, जहाँ पर शून्य में भटकती हुई एक स्वर्णिम नौका पूर्वकाल में उतरी थी।[५] अतः सर्वप्रथम हमें अथर्ववेद में ही जल-प्लावन तथा उसमें से बचने वाली मनु की नौका के हिमालय पर पहुँचने का क्षीण संकेत मिलता है।

जल-प्लावन की घटना का विस्तृत वर्णन सर्वप्रथम हमें शतपथब्राह्मण में उपलब्ध होता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि एक बार प्रभात के समय हाथ धोने के लिए

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* रीडर, मेरठ विश्वविद्यालय

१. शतपथब्राह्मण १/८/१/२

२. ब्रह्मपुराण २३१/१, विष्णुपुराण ६/३/१-२

३. अग्निपुराण ३६८/१-२, भागवतपुराण १२/४/३५

४. ऋग्वेद १०/१२९/३

५. अथर्ववेद १९/३९/७-८

जल लेते समय मनु के हाथ में एक छोटी सी मछली आ गई और उसने मनु से अपनी रक्षा-हेतु प्रार्थना की। साथ ही उस मछली ने मनु को जल-प्लावन की सूचना दी और कहा कि उस जल-प्लावन में सब कुछ डूब जायेगा, किन्तु तुम एक नौका बनाकर उसमें चढ़ जाना। मैं बड़ी होकर उस जल-प्लावन से तुम्हें बचा लूँगी। मनु ने उस मछली की रक्षा की और कालान्तर में वह एक बहुत बड़ा मत्स्य हो गई। उस मछली के बतलाये हुए समय पर ही भयंकर जल-प्लावन (जलौघ) हुआ, जिसमें सारी सृष्टि डूब गई, किन्तु अकेले मनु ही उस मत्स्य के सींग में अपनी नाव बाँधकर उत्तर गिरि की चोटी पर पहुँच गये और उस जल-प्लावन से बच गये।[६] शतपथब्राह्मण में उत्तरगिरि की उस चोटी का नाम 'मनोरवसर्पण' दिया है।[७]

जल-प्लावन की इसी घटना का क्षीण आभास जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण में भी मिलता है। यद्यपि वहाँ जल-प्लावन से मनु की रक्षा कोई मत्स्य नहीं करता, तथापि सामवेद की ऋचायें स्वयं स्वर्णिम नौका बनकर मनु की रक्षा करती हैं।[८] तत्पश्चात् जल-प्लावन की यह कथा 'महाभारत' में बड़े विस्तार के साथ मिलती है। यहाँ आते-आते शतपथब्राह्मण की कथा में पर्याप्त परिवर्तन हो गया है। एक तो यहाँ मनु को बदरिकाश्रम में तप करते हुए दिखाया गया है और वहीं चीरिणी नदी के किनारे मनु की उस महान् मत्स्य से भेंट हुई है। दूसरे, मनु को यहाँ विवस्वान् का पुत्र तथा एक प्रतापी महर्षि बतलाया गया है। तीसरे, मत्स्य ने आकर यहाँ मनु को यह सूचना दी है कि अब सभी पदार्थों के विनाश का समय आ गया है और अब उसी विनाश-कार्य के हेतु भयंकर जल-प्लावन होगा। चौथे, उस महान् मत्स्य को यहाँ प्रजापति ब्रह्मा घोषित किया गया है, जिसने मनु से कहा है कि अब सृष्टि के विनाश के उपरान्त तुम ही मेरी कृपा से आगामी नूतन सृष्टि की रचना में सफल होगे। पाँचवें, यहाँ केवल मनु ही उस जल-प्लावन से शेष नहीं रहते, अपितु समस्त पदार्थों के बीज और सप्तर्षि भी मनु के साथ उस नौका में शेष रहते हैं। छठे, जिस स्थान पर मनु उतरे थे, उसका नाम महाभारत में 'नौ बन्धन' दिया गया है। सातवें, यहाँ पर जल-प्लावन का अत्यन्त रोमहर्षक एवं रोमांचकारी वर्णन किया गया है।[९]

तत्पश्चात् जल-प्लावन की घटना का विस्तृत वर्णन मत्स्यपुराण में मिलता है। यहाँ आकर इस घटना में और भी अधिक परिवर्तन हो गया है। जैसे, यहाँ मनु को दक्षिण देश का राजा कहकर मलयाद्रि पर तपस्या करते हुए दिखाया गया है और उसी पर्वत के समीप तर्पण करते हुए मत्स्य से भेंट करायी गयी है। दूसरे, मत्स्य को

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६. शतपथब्राह्मण १/८/१-६

७. वही १/८/६

८. जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण ३/९९

९. महाभारत, वनपर्व १८७/२-५५

यहाँ बीस अयुत योजन लम्बे आकार का घोषित किया गया है। तीसरे, मत्स्य को यहाँ विष्णु का अवतार माना गया है। चौथे, मत्स्य ने यहाँ मनु को यह संदेश दिया है कि इस जल-प्लावन के अनन्तर जब नूतन सृष्टि का विकास होगा, तब सतयुग के प्रारम्भ में तुम्हीं इस चराचर जगत् के प्रजापति होगे और मन्वन्तर के अधिपति होकर समस्त देवताओं के भी पूज्य होगे। पाँचवें, यहाँ पर मनु के साथ ऋक्-यजु-सामवेद, समस्त विद्यायें, सम्पूर्ण पुराण, चन्द्रमा, सूर्य, नर्मदा नदी, महर्षि मार्कण्डेय तथा शंकर के अवशिष्ट रहने का उल्लेख मिलता है। छठे, यहाँ मनु स्वयं नौका का निर्माण नहीं करते, अपितु देवताओं के द्वारा निर्मित नाव स्वयं मनु के लिए उपस्थित होती है। सातवें यहाँ यह वर्णन नहीं मिलता कि मनु जल-प्लावन के उतरने पर सर्वप्रथम किस स्थान पर उतरे थे।[10] मत्स्यपुराण की इस कथा पर धार्मिक प्रभाव अधिक दिखाई देता है। इसी कारण यह कथा अधिक विस्तृत हो गई है और इसमें असाधारण बातों का समावेश अधिक हो गया है।

इसके उपरान्त जल-प्लावन की घटना का यह वर्णन भागवतपुराण में भी मिलता है। यद्यपि इस वर्णन में मत्स्यपुराण की घटना से अधिक अन्तर तो नहीं है, तथापि कुछ बातें यहाँ अनोखे ढंग से बतलाई गई हैं। जैसे, मनु का नाम यहाँ सत्यव्रत दिया गया है और उन्हें द्रविड़ देश का राजा घोषित किया है। उन्हें मलयपर्वत के समीप कृतमाला नदी में तर्पण करते हुए लिखा है, जहाँ पर मत्स्य से उनकी भेंट होती है। मत्स्य ने ठीक सातवें दिन जल-प्लावन एवं प्रलय का होना बतलाया है। मनु के साथ यहाँ समस्त प्राणियों के एक-एक जोड़े, सभी प्रकार के बीज तथा सभी तरह की औषधियों के शेष रहने का उल्लेख मिलता है। मत्स्यपुराण की भाँति यहाँ सूर्य-चन्द्र के शेष रहने का नहीं, अपितु नष्ट हो जाने का वर्णन मिलता है और इनके अभाव में सप्तर्षियों के प्रकाश में ही मनु का नौका के द्वारा बचना बतलाया गया है। यहाँ पर मत्स्य का आकार एक लाख योजन लम्बा तथा उसे स्वर्णिम रंग का बतलाया गया है। शेष समस्त कथा मत्स्यपुराण के ही समान है, जिसमें मत्स्य को विष्णु का अवतार बतलाया गया है और मनु के समीप देवनिर्मित नौका के आने का वर्णन किया गया है।[11] भागवतपुराण के ही समान जल-प्लावन की घटना अग्निपुराण में भी मिलती है और इन दोनों के वर्णन में कोई अन्तर नहीं है।[12]

इसके अतिरिक्त जल-प्लावन की घटना का उल्लेख भविष्यपुराण में भी मिलता है। यहाँ मनु का नाम 'न्यूह' दिया गया है और उन्हें आदम का पुत्र बतलाया गया है। न्यूह को भारत का एक विष्णु-भक्त राजा घोषित किया गया है, जिसे एक

१०. मत्स्यपुराण १/१०-३४

११. भागवत पुराण ८/२४/४१-५४

१२. अग्निपुराण २/१-१७

दिन स्वप्न में विष्णु भगवान् यह आदेश देते हैं कि आज से सातवें दिन भयंकर जल-प्लावन आयेगा। अतः तुम एक नौका बनाकर अपने परिवार सहित उस पर चढ़ जाना। न्यूह ने विष्णु के कथनानुसार एक ५० हाथ चौड़ी तथा ३०० हाथ लम्बी नाव का निर्माण किया और प्रलय होने पर अपने परिवार के लोगों के साथ-साथ समस्त जीवों के एक-एक जोड़े को भी नौका पर चढ़ा लिया। जल-प्लावन के समाप्त होने पर वे हिमालय की 'शिषिणा' नामक चोटी पर उतरे और वहीं से आगामी नूतन सृष्टि का विकास किया।[१३] भविष्यपुराण की यह घटना बाइबिल की घटना से पूर्णतया मिलती-जुलती है। बाइबिल में हजरत नूह का भी ऐसा ही आख्यान मिलता है, जिसका उल्लेख आगे किया जायेगा। यहाँ इतना बता देना ही अभीष्ट है कि भविष्यपुराण में न्यूह को आदम की संतान कहा गया है। वैसे भी वैवस्वत मनु आदिमनु स्वायंभुव की संतान माने जाते हैं, क्योंकि अग्निपुराण में लिखा है कि विष्णु के पुत्र ब्रह्मा या आदिमनु हुए, उनके पुत्र मरीचि हुए, मरीचि के पुत्र कश्यप हुए, कश्यप के पुत्र सूर्य हुये और सूर्य के पुत्र वैवस्वत मनु हुए थे, जिनको जल-प्लावन का भयंकर दृश्य देखना पड़ा था।[१४] अतः आदिमनु का सम्बन्ध 'आदम' से और मनु का सम्बन्ध 'न्यूह' से सहज जोड़ा जा सकता है, क्योंकि भाषाविज्ञान की दृष्टि से 'आदिमनु' शब्द में से अन्तिम 'नु' तथा मध्यवर्ती 'इ' का लोप हो जाने पर 'आदम' शब्द बन गया होगा और 'मनुः' शब्द में से प्रथम 'म' का लोप हो जाने पर 'नुः' (उच्चारण 'नुह') 'नुह' या 'नूह' अथवा 'न्यूह' बन गया होगा।

बौद्ध जातक-कथाओं में जल-प्लावन की घटना का विस्तृत वर्णन तो नहीं मिलता, किन्तु 'मच्छजातक' में बोधिसत्व के मछली की योनि में जन्म लेकर तथा जल-वृष्टि कराकर संसार का कल्याण करने का उल्लेख मिलता है।[१५] ऐसे ही 'सीला-निसंसजातक' में समुद्र देवता द्वारा एक सदाचारी नाई को नौका में बैठाकर समुद्र से पार होने तथा अन्य सभी दुराचारी व्यक्तियों के जल-मग्न होने का उल्लेख मिलता है।[१६] परन्तु जैन-ग्रन्थों में जल-प्लावन की घटना का विस्तारपूर्वक वर्णन मिलता है। श्री धर्मघोष सूरि कृत 'कालसप्ततिका' ग्रंथ में अग्रतन अर (प्रथम युग) का वर्णन करते हुए लिखा है कि इस अर (युग) के अन्तर्गत क्रमशः क्षार, अग्नि, विष, अम्ल तथा विद्युत् से युक्त होकर मेघ सात दिन तक भयंकर वर्षा करेंगे। उस समय कुत्सित पवन चलेगी, अत्यन्त रुग्णकारी जल-वृष्टि होगी और समस्त गिरि तथा स्थल प्रदेशों को जल-मग्न करके एक-सा कर देगी। अग्नि-वर्षा के कारण पहले पृथ्वी तृणादि विहीन हो जायेगी और सर्वत्र "हा दैव ! हा दैव !! कैसे जीवित रहेंगे" ऐसी करुण पुकार

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१३. भविष्यपुराण, प्रतिसर्ग पर्व ३/४/१-५४

१४. अग्निपुराण ५/२

१५. जातक, खंड १, पृ० ४३०

१६. जातक, खंड २, पृ० २७४

सुनाई देगी। समस्त पक्षी, कच्छ-मच्छ तथा गंगादि नदियाँ समुद्र में विलीन हो जायेंगी। अर्थात् भयंकर जल-प्लावन में सब डूब जायेंगे। इसके अनन्तर द्वितीय अर (युग) के आने पर विमलवाहन नामक प्रथम मनु होंगे और वे अपनी योग्यता से जगत् की पुनः व्यवस्था करेंगे।[१७] ऐसे ही जिनसेनाचार्य कृत 'महापुराण' में भी जल-प्लावन की कथा मिलती है, जिसमें विमलवाहन को सातवाँ मनु अथवा कुल-कर माना गया है और कल्पवृक्ष आदि समस्त पदार्थों के जल-प्लावन में नष्ट हो जाने के उपरान्त इनका जन्म होना लिखा है। शेष कथा 'कालसप्ततिका' जैसी ही है।[१८] इससे यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि विमलवाहन नामक मनु से पहले जल-प्लावन हुआ, जिसमें सभी कुछ नष्ट हो गया तथा विमलवाहन सातवें मनु हैं।

जल-प्लावन की भयंकर घटना का उल्लेख दक्षिण भारत के कतिपय प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में भी मिलता है। तमिल भाषा में लिखित 'तमिलम् तमिलरम्' नामक ग्रन्थ में जल-प्लावन का वर्णन करते हुए बतलाया गया है कि पहले दक्षिण में लेमूरिया या कुमारखंड नामक एक विस्तृत भूखंड लंका से दक्षिणी ध्रुव तक और अफ्रीका से सुमात्रा-जावा द्वीप-समूह तक फैला हुआ था। भयंकर जल-प्लावन में वह विशाल द्वीप जल-मग्न हो गया और उसी का अवशिष्ट भाग आज लंका के रूप में विद्यमान है।[१९] इस जल-प्लावन के भयंकर रूप का वर्णन करते हुए वहाँ लिखा है कि उस लेमूरिया द्वीप में देवताओं के रुष्ट हो जाने पर ही यह विनाशकारी जल-प्लावन हुआ था और इसमें चार लाख गलियाँ, पच्चीस राजमहल, रावण के कितने ही विशाल दुर्ग, जो तूतुकुड़ी से लेकर मन्नार तक बने थे, डूब गये। यह जल-प्लावन की घटना अत्यन्त प्राचीन युग में हुई थी।[२०]

भारतीय ग्रन्थों के अतिरिक्त विश्व के अन्य भाषा-ग्रन्थों में भी जल-प्लावन सम्बन्धी प्रमुख घटना का उल्लेख मिलता है। यूनानी ग्रन्थों में प्रसिद्ध है कि ड्यूकलियन (Deucalion) तथा उनकी पत्नी पीरिया (Pyrrha) के समय में भयंकर जल-प्लावन हुआ था। वहाँ के ग्रन्थों में लिखा है कि लौहयुग में पाप तथा अत्याचार अधिक बढ़ गये थे। सभी व्यक्ति अत्यधिक पतन की ओर जा रहे थे। उस समय ज्यूज़ (Zeus) नामक देवता ने भयंकर जल-वृष्टि करके उस पतित सृष्टि के विनाश का निश्चय किया। तत्काल घोर वर्षा होने लगी और समस्त सृष्टि जल में डूब गई; परन्तु ड्यूकलियन ने एक पोत का निर्माण किया और उसके द्वारा अपनी पत्नी सहित उस जल-प्लावन से अपनी रक्षा की। जब धीरे-धीरे जल कम होने लगा, तब उनका

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१७. कालसप्ततिका, ५६-६२

१८. महापुराण १/१५८ तथा १३/११६-११७

१९. तमिलम् तमिलरम्, पृ० १०।

२०. वही, पृ० १८-१९।

वह पोत थिसली (Thessaly) में ओथरस पर्वत (Mount Othrys) पर जाकर ठहरा और वहाँ पहुँचकर उन दोनों ने पुनः नवीन मानव-सृष्टि का विकास किया।[२१]

इसी तरह बेबीलोनिया के साहित्य में भी जल-प्लावन का उल्लेख मिलता है। वहाँ के अत्र-हसिस (Atra-Hasis) महाकाव्य में जल-प्लावन का वर्णन करते हुए लिखा है कि आर्डटीज (Ardates) की मृत्यु के उपरान्त उसका पुत्र ज़िसूथ्रस (Xisuthros) राजगद्दी पर बैठा। उसने अठारह सर (१८ × ३६०० वर्ष) तक राज्य किया। उसी के समय मे एक बार भीषण जल-प्लावन हुआ। राजा को उस जल-प्लावन की सूचना स्वप्न में मिली। अतः वह एक नौका तैयार करके उसी में बैठा रहा और जल के कम हो जाने पर उसने अपनी नौका से तीन बार पक्षी उड़ाये। दो बार तो पक्षी लौटकर उसी की नौका पर आ गये, किन्तु तीसरी बार कोई पक्षी लौटकर नहीं आया। तब उसने जान लिया कि अब जल-प्लावन उतर चुका है और भूमि निकल आई है। अतः वह अपनी सुरक्षित नौका से बाहर निकला और उसने देवों को बलि प्रदान करके नई भूमि पर बेबीलोनिया नामक नगर का पुनः निर्माण किया।[२२]

बेबीलोनिया के 'गिलगमेश' (Gilgamesh) महाकाव्य में जल-प्लावन की एक और घटना का उल्लेख मिलता है। वहाँ पर लिखा है कि तत्कालीन समाज में अत्यधिक दुष्कर्म एवं पापाचार बढ़ गये थे। अतः परमेश्वर ई (God Ea) ने महान् जल-वृष्टि द्वारा उसके विनाश का निश्चय किया। उसी समय भयंकर वर्षा होने लगी, जिसमें पृथ्वी के सभी भाग जल-मग्न हो गये और सारा समाज उस जल-प्लावन में डूब गया। केवल एक धार्मिक व्यक्ति उत्नपिश्तम् (Utnapishtam) ही एक नौका के द्वारा उस भीषण जल-प्लावन से बचा। उत्नपिश्तम् ने अपनी उस नौका में सभी प्रकार के जीवों के जोड़े, कोष, सभी प्रकार के कलाकार एवं कारीगर आदि अपने साथ ले लिये थे। अन्त में उनकी नौका एक पर्वत पर आकर रुकी और जल-प्लावन के कम हो जाने पर देवों को बलि प्रदान करके उत्नपिश्तम् ने बेबीलोनिया की नूतन सभ्यता का विकास किया।[२३]

जल-प्लावन का ऐसा ही विस्तृत उल्लेख ईसाई धर्म-ग्रन्थ बाइबिल में मिलता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि आदम की वंश-परम्परा में नूह नामक एक बड़े ही सच्चरित्र एवं धर्मात्मा व्यक्ति हुए थे। वे बड़े ही ईश्वरभक्त थे। उनके समय में सारी पृथ्वी पर अनाचार एवं दुष्कर्म बढ़ गये। सारा समाज चरित्र-भ्रष्ट हो गया। तब परमेश्वर यहोवा ने इस पतित समाज़ के विनाश का निश्चय किया और हज़रत नूह से कहा कि आज से

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२१. *Myth of Ancient Greece and Rome*, p. 22-23.

२२. *The Flood Legend in Sanskrit Literature*, P. 149-159.

२३. *Encyclopaedia Britanica*. Vol. 7, p. 176.

ठीक सातवें दिन एक भीषण जल-प्लावन आयेगा और तुम अपनी रक्षा के लिए एक ३०० हाथ लम्बी, ५० हाथ चौड़ी तथा ३० हाथ ऊँची नौका बनवा लेना। परमेश्वर के संकेत के अनुसार ठीक सातवें दिन जल-प्लावन आरम्भ हो गया और हजरत नूह अपने साथ अपना परिवार, प्रत्येक जीवधारी का एक-एक जोड़ा तथा अन्य आवश्यक सामग्री लेकर उस नाव पर चढ़ गये। उनकी वह नौका अराराट पर्वत पर जाकर रुकी और वहीं पर धर्मात्मा नूह ने देवताओं को बलि प्रदान करके नई मानव-सृष्टि का विकास करना आरम्भ किया।[२४]

जल-प्लावन सम्बन्धी इस विश्व-विश्रुत घटना का उल्लेख चैल्डिया के साहित्य में भी मिलता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि पूर्वकाल में जब जनता में पापाचार एवं अनाचार अधिक बढ़ गये, तब उनसे रुष्ट होकर परमेश्वर ई (God Ea) ने भयंकर वर्षा द्वारा उस जन-समाज के विनाश करने का निश्चय किया और तत्कालीन धार्मिक पुरुष हसीसद्रा (Hasisadra) को यह आदेश दिया कि जब मैं महावृष्टि द्वारा उत्पन्न जल-प्लावन से इस सृष्टि का विनाश करूं, तब उससे पूर्व ही तुम एक नौका निर्माण करके उसमें अपनी पत्नी, मित्र तथा अन्य परिवार के व्यक्तियों के साथ-साथ समस्त पदार्थों के बीज लेकर चढ़ जाना। अन्त में नियत समय पर उत्पन्न भीषण जल-प्लावन ने समस्त पापमयी सृष्टि को नष्ट कर दिया और धर्मात्मा हसीसद्रा अपने परिवार एवं समस्त पदार्थों के बीजों सहित नौका द्वारा उस विनाश से बचे।[२५]

जल-प्लावन की यही घटना मुस्लिम धर्म के सुप्रसिद्ध धर्मग्रन्थ क़ुरान-शरीफ़ में भी मिलती है। यह घटना पूर्णतया बाइबिल के अनुसार ही है और इसमें भी हजरत नूह के नौका द्वारा जल-प्लावन से बचने, पापी व्यक्ति के नष्ट हो जाने आदि का बाइबिल जैसा ही वर्णन मिलता है। बाइबिल के वर्णन से इस वर्णन में अन्तर इतना ही है कि बाइबिल में धर्मात्मा नूह की नाव अराराट पर्वत पर आकर रुकती है, जब कि क़ुरान-शरीफ़ में वह 'जूदी' पर्वत पर आकर ठहरती है।[२६]

जल-प्लावन की इसी प्रमुख घटना का संकेत पारसी धर्म के प्रमुख धर्मग्रंथ 'वेंदीदाद' में भी मिलता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि सामाजिक अनाचार एवं पापाचार को देखकर देवताओं ने बहुत कुछ सोच-विचारकर भयंकर हिमपात के साथ-साथ भीषण जल-प्लावन लाने का निश्चय किया, परन्तु तत्कालीन धार्मिक व्यक्ति यीमा को अपनी रक्षा के हेतु सूचित कर दिया था। अन्त में नियत समय पर भयंकर हिमपात के साथ जल-प्लावन आया और उसमें समस्त अनाचारी एवं पापाचारी डूब गये। केवल यीमा ही सुरक्षित बचे।[२७]

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२४. बाइबिल (हिन्दी संस्करण), उत्पत्ति खंड, अध्याय ६, ७, ८।

२५. *Vedic India* by Regozin, p. 340.

२६. *The Holy Quran* 11/3/25-49.

२७. आलोचना, वर्ष २, अंक ४, पूर्णाङ्क ८, जुलाई १९५३, पृ० ३१।

जल-प्लावन की इसी घटना का उल्लेख सुमेरियन ग्रंथों में भी मिलता है। वहाँ लिखा है कि राजा ज़ियूसुद्दू (zi-u-Suddu) को स्वप्न में जल-प्लावन के होने की सूचना प्राप्त हुई। राजा ज़ियूसुद्दू ने एक बड़ी नौका तैयार कर ली। वह जल-प्लावन सात दिन तक रहा, जिसमें अन्य समस्त सृष्टि का तो विनाश हो गया, किन्तु धर्मात्मा ज़ियूसुद्दू ही शेष रहे, जिनसे आगामी नूतन सृष्टि का विकास हुआ।[२८] ऐसे ही असीरिया के ग्रंथों में भी जहाँ-तहाँ जल-प्लावन के संकेत मिल जाते हैं। एक घटना का उल्लेख इस प्रकार मिलता है कि पूर्वकाल में भयंकर जल-प्लावन से बचने के लिए नायक ने एक विशाल नौका का निर्माण किया, जिसकी योजना परमेश्वर ई (God Ea) ने ही उसके सम्मुख रखी थी और उस नौका पर अपने परिवार, कुशल कारीगरों, जानवरों आदि को चढ़ाकर नायक ने उस भीषण जल-प्लावन से अपनी रक्षा की थी।[२९]

इनके अतिरिक्त वेलस, लिथुआनिया और आइसलैंड के साहित्य में भी जल-प्लावन-संबंधी घटना का उल्लेख मिलता है। यह दूसरी बात है कि वहाँ यह जल-प्लावन जल-वृष्टि द्वारा नहीं आता, अपितु राक्षस की रक्त-धारा के बहने से जल-प्लावन का भयंकर दृश्य उपस्थित होता है।[३०] ऐसे ही चीन, ब्रह्मा, इंडोचायना, मलाया, आस्ट्रेलिया, न्यूगिनी, मैलैनेशिया, पालीनेशिया, उत्तरी-दक्षिणी अमेरिका आदि देशों के साहित्य में भी जल-प्लावन का उल्लेख मिलता है। इन समस्त घटनाओं की तुलना करने पर ज्ञात होता है कि दक्षिणी एशिया की सभी घटनायें समान हैं, क्योंकि उनमें सर्वत्र सम्पूर्ण पृथ्वी के डूबने एवं तत्कालीन सृष्टि के विनष्ट होने का वर्णन मिलता है। उत्तरी एशिया की घटनाओं में से चीन, जापान आदि के साहित्यों में जल-प्लावन द्वारा पूर्ण विनाश का वर्णन नहीं मिलता। यूरोप में भी पूर्ण विनाश की ओर कम संकेत किये गये हैं और अफ्रीका के साहित्य में तो जल-प्लावन का उल्लेख नहीं के बराबर है।[३१]

इस प्रकार विश्व भर के साहित्य में जल-प्लावन-संबंधी घटना का वर्णन पढ़कर हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचते हैं कि आधुनिक मानव-सृष्टि के विकास से पूर्व अवश्य कोई ऐसी जल-प्लावन-संबंधी भीषण घटना घटित हुई थी, जिसमें इस मानव-सृष्टि से पूर्व की सृष्टि का विनाश हो गया और उसी सृष्टि के अवशिष्ट एक धर्मात्मा, सच्चरित्र एवं सज्जन महापुरुष द्वारा वर्तमान मानव-सृष्टि का

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२८. *The Flood Legend in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 138-140.

२९. वही, पृ० १३७-१३८।

३०. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 7, 176.

३१. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 7, p. 177.

विकास हुआ। इसीलिए मानव-सृष्टि के सभी धार्मिक ग्रन्थों में जल-प्लावन की घटना का उल्लेख मिलता है और उसी घटना के उपरान्त नई सृष्टि के विकास की सूचना मिलती है। ये ही वर्णन जल-प्लावन की घटना के ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व की ओर भी संकेत करते हैं, क्योंकि मानव का इतिहास इसी सुप्रसिद्ध जल-प्लावन की घटना के उपरान्त आरम्भ होता है। अतएव यह निर्विवाद सत्य है कि 'जल-प्लावन' मानव के आरम्भिक इतिहास की एक महत्त्वपूर्ण घटना है।

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ध्रुवदेवी की जाति

एस० एन० प्रसाद*

ध्रुवदेवी की जाति प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास की एक जटिल समस्या है क्योंकि इतिहासकार के समक्ष किसी भी प्रकार की सुरक्षित सामग्री अभी तक सुलभ नहीं है जिससे इसके जाति-निर्धारण की महत्त्वपूर्ण समस्या पर प्रकाश पड़ता हो। इस प्रकार संपूर्ण समस्या प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास के अध्येता के समक्ष पहेली के रूप में दिखाई पड़ती है। अतः लेखक को कतिपय अन्य स्रोतों का आश्रय लेना पड़ रहा है जिनके आधार पर वह केवल प्राकल्पना ही कर सकता है। ऐसे अन्य स्रोत भी दुर्भाग्य से बहुत ही कम हैं, यदि कुछ हैं भी तो उन पर सहसा विश्वास करके कुछ निष्कर्ष निकालना उचित नहीं प्रतीत होता।

इन कठिनाइयों के अतिरिक्त यह अवश्य ही कहा जा सकता है कि इस समस्या के हल निकालने के अध्ययन की प्रक्रिया स्वयं में महत्त्वपूर्ण और मनोरंजक है। ध्रुवदेवी का विवाह गुप्तों के वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध के परिवेश में पारस्परिक वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध के स्वरूप के अतिरिक्त, राजनीतिक दृष्टि से भी कम महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं था। गुप्त सम्राटों में वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध के माध्यम से राजनीतिक स्थिति सुदृढ़ करने की एक स्वस्थ परम्परा पाई जाती है।[1] इस नीति को गुप्त नृपों ने राज्य-विस्तार, संगठन आदि को ध्यान में रखते हुये राजनीतिक अस्त्र के रूप में प्रयुक्त किया था।

बहुत संभव है कि ध्रुवदेवी सर्वप्रथम समुद्रगुप्त के अयोग्य ज्येष्ठ पुत्र रामगुप्त की राजमहिषी रही हो और कालान्तर में वह शकारि चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य, जो समुद्रगुप्त का सुयोग्य कनिष्ठ पुत्र था, की महारानी हो गई हो।[2] कतिपय

*प्रवक्ता, प्राचीन इतिहास, संस्कृति एव पुरातत्त्व विभाग, सी० एम० पी० कालेज, प्रयाग।

१. ज० रा० ए० सो० १८८९, पृ० ५५; ज० रा० ए० सो० १८९३, पृ० ८१, अल्टेकर, न्यू० स० न० ४७; ज० रा० ए० सो० ब०, १९३७, न्यू० सं०, पृ० १०५ और आगे; ए० भ० ओ० रि० इ०, जि० १२, पृ० ५०; ज० बि० उ० रि० सो० जि० १९, पृ० ११३; वही, जि० २१ पृ० ७७; वही, जि० २२ पृ० २७५; इ० हि० क्वा०, जि० १५ पृ० ५८२; इ० क०, जि० ९ पृ० १००; ज० ए० हिं० हि० सो० जि० ६ पृ० १३९; थामस कमोमोरेशन वाल्यूम, पृ० ११५ और अन्य, ज० बि० उ० रि० सो०, जि० ३०, पृ० १; इ० हि० क्वा०, जि० २०, पृ० ३४५; पो० हि० ए० ई० पृ० ५३०; अल्टेकर, वाकाटक गुप्ता एज, पृ० १०२; पा० टि० २; हेरास, रिलेशन्स बिटविन दी गुप्ताज़, कदम्बाज़ एण्ड वाकाटकाज़, ज० बि० उ० रि० सो० जि० १२, पृ० ४५५।

२. प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति, पंक्ति २३-२४; फलीह का इ० इ०, जि० ३, पृ० १४।

विद्वान् इस सम्बन्ध की ऐतिहासिकता को सन्देह की दृष्टि से देखने की चेष्टा करेंगे क्योंकि समुद्रगुप्त जो परमभागवत था, निश्चय ही हिन्दू धर्म का वास्तविक प्रतीक था। उसने अनार्य भारतीय वर्ण-व्यवस्था के नियमों की मान्यताओं को तोड़कर अपने ज्येष्ठ पुत्र रामगुप्त[3] का विवाह एक शक कन्या के साथ कैसे किया होगा, यह प्रश्न निश्चय ही विचारणीय है किन्तु समुद्रगुप्त ने स्वयं ही अपने अभिलेख में इस प्रकार के विवाह का उल्लेख किया है।[4] 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति', जिसमें इस तथ्य का उल्लेख है, का प्रशस्तिकार भी गुप्त साम्राज्य के प्रशासन का एक विशिष्ट अधिकारी था। वह समुद्रगुप्त का सन्धिविग्रहिक (युद्ध और शान्ति का मन्त्री), कुमारामात्य (गुप्त प्रशासन में वर्त्तमान आई० ए० एस० के प्रकार की राजकीय प्रशासकीय सेवा की गुप्तकालीन उपाधि), एवं महादण्डनायक (पुलिस व्यवस्था एवं न्याय का प्रधान) आदि महत्त्वपूर्ण पदों पर सुशोभित था। अतः इस उल्लेख की विश्वसनीयता में किंचित् मात्र भी संदेह के लिए स्थान नहीं है। समुद्रगप्त की 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति' से यह तथ्य स्पष्ट है कि उसके क्षणभर में उन्मूलन करनेवाली भुजाओं के बल के भय से कुषाण, शक, मुरुण्ड, सिंहल तथा अनेक द्वीपों के शासकों ने समुद्रगुप्त की प्रभुता स्वीकार की। इन्होंने अपने को समुद्रगुप्त की सेवाओं के लिए आत्मनिवेदन किया तथा उसके गरुड़ांकित मुहर की अपने राज्य में शासन के लिए याचना की। इतना ही नहीं, उन्होंने अपने राज्य की सुन्दरी कन्याओं को भेंट किया तथा वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध भी स्थापित किये।[5] 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति' के इस विषय में विद्वान् एकमत नहीं हैं। कुछ

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३. सिलवाँ लेवी, ज० ए०, जि० २३, पृ० २०१ और आगे; आर० सरस्वती, इ० ए० जि० ५२, पृ० १८१ और आगे; अल्टेकर, ज० बि० उ० रि० सो०, जि० १४, पृ० २२३ और आगे; वही, जि० १५, पृ० १३४ और आगे; आर० डी० बनर्जी, ए० आई० जी०, पृ० २६ और आगे; डा० डी० आर० भण्डारकर, मालवीय कमोमोरेशन वाल्यूम, पृ० १८९ और आगे; डा० काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल, ज० बि० उ० रि० सो०, जि० १८, पृ० १७ और आगे; विन्टरनित्स, अयंगर कमोमोरेशन वाल्यूम, पृ० ३५९ और आगे; स्टेन कोनो, ज० बि० उ०रि० सो०, जि० २३, पृ० ४४४ और आगे; डा० वासुदेव विष्णु मिराशी, ३, हि० क्वा०, जि० १०, पृ० ४८; वही, इ० ए०, जि० ६२, पृ० २०१ और आगे; एन० दास गुप्ता, इ० क०, जि० ४, पृ० २१६ और आगे; वी० राघवन, बनारस हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी मैगजीन, जि० २, पृ० २३-५४ तथा ३०७; डा० हेमचन्द्र रायचौधरी, पोलिटिकल हिस्ट्री आफ एंशेण्ट इण्डिया पृ० ४६५; डा० रमेशचन्द्र मजूमदार, वाकाटक गुप्ता एज, पृ० १४८-१५२; कृष्णदत्त वाजपेयी, ज० न्यू० सो० इ०, जि०, २३, पृ० ३४० और आगे; वही डा० सरकार ज० इ० हि०, जि० ११, पृ० ५३५; कृष्णदत्त वाजपेयी, साप्ताहिक हिन्दुस्तान (३० मार्च, १९६९), अंक २६, पृ० १०।

४. "दैवपुत्रशाहिशाहानुशाहीशकमुरंडै: सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्वद्वीपवासिभिरात्मनिवेदनकन्योपायनदानगरुत्मदङ्क स्वविषयभुक्तिशासनयाचनाद्युपायसेवाकृतबाहुवीर्य्यप्रसरधरणिबन्धस्य" प्रयाग प्रशस्ति, पंक्ति २३-२४ का० इ० इ०, जि० ३, पृ०-१४

५. प्रयाग प्रशस्ति, पंक्ति २३-२४

के अनुसार यह वाक्य शक के लिए प्रयुक्त हुआ है। परन्तु यह मत उचित नहीं है क्योंकि 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति' में केवल तीन शक्तियों का ही वर्णन नहीं है। डा० सुधाकर चट्टोपाध्याय ने हरिषेण के इस कथन की ऐतिहासिकता को नहीं स्वीकार किया है क्योंकि उन्हें इसमें काव्यात्मक अतिशयोक्ति का दर्शन होता है।[६] परन्तु डा० चट्टोपाध्याय के मत से सहमत नहीं हुआ जा सकता क्योंकि हरिषेण युद्ध और शान्ति का मंत्री, कुमारामात्य तथा महादण्डनायक जैसे महत्त्वपूर्ण पदों का अधिकारी था।[७] वह पहले एक महत्त्वपूर्ण पदाधिकारी था बाद में कवि। युद्ध और शान्ति का मन्त्री युद्ध के अवसरों पर सम्राट् के साथ रहता था। उदयगिरि के गुहालेख से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि सन्धिविग्रहिक युद्धादिक काल में राजा के साथ ही रहता था।[८] इस महत्त्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक उल्लेख को सहसा कोरी कवि-कल्पना तथा अतिरंजित उल्लेख मानना समीचीन नहीं है। प्रशस्ति की इस पंक्ति से स्पष्ट है कि इन विदेशी शासकों ने अपने तथा अपने यहाँ सुन्दरियों, स्वयं अपनी कन्याओं, आदि को सम्राट् समुद्रगुप्त को भेंट किया होगा। इस संदर्भ में 'स्वामी' शब्द बहुत महत्त्वपूर्ण है। 'स्वामी' शब्द प्रायः शकों के साथ जुड़ा रहता था। ध्रुवदेवी को वैशाली की मुहर में,[९] संजन ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख[१०] में तथा राजशेखर की "काव्यमीमांसा"[११] में ध्रुवस्वामिनी कहा गया है। "स्वामी" शब्द शक उत्पत्ति का है तथा यह पुरुषवाचक है। इसका स्त्रीलिंग निस्संदेह 'स्वामिनी' ही होगा। इस प्रकार ध्रुवस्वामिनी के साथ संलग्न 'स्वामिनी' के आधार पर इसे शक प्रमाणित किया जा सकता है। 'प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति' की तेईसवीं पंक्ति से यह स्पष्ट है कि शक आदि नृपों ने समुद्रगुप्त के आधिपत्य को ही केवल नहीं स्वीकार किया बल्कि अपनी कन्याओं को भी उस सम्बन्ध को दृढ़ करने के लिये भेंट में दिया होगा। उनमें शकों की भी कन्यायें होंगी यह स्वाभाविक है। इस समय के नामों में कन्याओं के साथ 'स्वामिनी' शब्द के प्रयोग का नाम कदाचित् ध्रुवस्वामिनी का ही है। 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति' की तेरहवीं पंक्ति से यह स्पष्ट है कि शकों ने समुद्रगुप्त के आधिपत्य को स्वीकार किया तथा अपने प्रति समुद्रगुप्त के मित्रतापूर्ण सम्बन्ध के लिए बहुत सम्भव है कि अपनी कन्या ध्रुवस्वामिनी का

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६. डा० सुधाकर चट्टोपाध्याय, अर्ली हिस्ट्री आफ नार्थ इंडिया, पृ० १९५।

७. "सन्धिविग्रहिककुमारामात्यमहादण्डनायकहरिषेणस्य सर्वभूतहितसुखायास्तु"—प्रयाग प्रशस्ति, पंक्ति ३३।

८. कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः।
भक्त्या भगवतः शम्भोर्गुहामेतामकारयत्॥
चन्द्रगुप्त II का उदयगिरि गुहा अभिलेख, श्लोक ५।

९. डा० राधा कुमुद मुकर्जी, दी गुप्ता इम्पायर, पृ० ४६।

१०. अमोघवर्ष प्रथम का संजन ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख, ए० इ०, जि० १८, पृ० २४८।

११. काव्यमीमांसा ९, ४७।

विवाह समुद्रगुप्त के ज्येष्ठ पुत्र रामगुप्त के साथ कर दिया हो। ध्रुवदेवी सम्भवतः ध्रुवस्वामिनी (जो कि शक नाम है)[१२] का भारतीयकरण जान पड़ता है। यह बहुत उचित है कि यह नाम शक-गुप्त-वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध के बाद ही रखा गया होगा। हिन्दुओं में आरम्भ से ही कन्याओं का नाम देवी या देवीतुल्य अन्य नाम रखने की परम्परा थी और आज भी है। ध्रुवदेवी शब्द पूर्णरूपेण भारतीय है। अतः यह प्रतीत होता है कि गुप्त सम्राट् समुद्रगुप्त की कुलवधू ध्रुवस्वामिनी के नाम का ध्रुवदेवी के रूप में भारतीय-करण किया गया। इसी कारण गुप्त वंश के अभिलेखों में "ध्रुवस्वामिनी" (मौलिक नाम) नाम का प्रयोग नहीं पाया जाता। गुप्त राजाओं के अभिलेखों में उसे उसके भारतीय नाम "ध्रुवदेवी" के नाम से अभिहित किया गया है। गुप्त नृपों की विशेषतः समुद्रगुप्त की भागवत धर्म के प्रति विशिष्ट निष्ठा तथा भारतीय परम्पराओं के प्रति अगाध श्रद्धा का द्योतन इसी से हो जाता है कि उसने अपनी ज्येष्ठ पुत्रवधू के शक नाम "ध्रुवस्वामिनी" तक को भी भारतीय संस्कृति के आवरण में रंग दिया।

गुप्त अभिलेखों से पता चलता है कि समुद्रगुप्त का उत्तराधिकारी उसका पुत्र चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य था। परन्तु कतिपय साहित्यिक, आभिलेखिक तथा मुद्रा-संबंधी स्रोतों से समुद्रगुप्त और चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य के अनन्तर रामगुप्त नामक एक शासक के विषय में बोध होता है जिसने बहुत सम्भव है इन दोनों सम्राटों के मध्य कुछ समय के लिए शासन की बागडोर सम्हाली हो।[१३]

समुदगुप्त जो कि गुप्त साम्राज्य का प्रधान शिल्पी था, के सैन्य-संगठन तथा बहुमुखी प्रतिभा से अनेकों समकालीन शक्तिशाली शासकों को उससे झुककर तथा मैत्री सम्बन्ध स्थापित करके रहना पड़ा था। ऐसी शक्तियों में शकों की शक्ति ने जो कि किसी भी रूप में कम भयंकर न थी, कन्योपायनादान की नीति से समुद्रगुप्त को अपने

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१२. धर्मादित्य कालीन फरीदपुर ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख में "गोपाल स्वामी" देखें, सरकार, सेलेक्ट इंस्क्रिप्शन्स, पृ० ३५४। गोपालचन्द्र कालीन फरीदपुर ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख में "वत्स स्वामी", सरकार, वही, पृ० ३५७। मल्लालसारुल का गोपालचन्द्र के समय का विजयसेन के अभिलेख में महावामनस्वामी, वत्सस्वामी, सरकार, वही, पृ० ३६१। शार्वनाथ का १९३ गु० स० (५१२ ई०) का खोह ताम्रपत्र अभिलेख—

महादे का कुमारदेकरमुत्पन्नो महाराज कुमारदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यां जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जयस्वामी तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यां रामदेकामुत्पन्नो महाराज व्याघ्रस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यामन्भितदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराणजयनाथस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्या मुरुण्डदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-शर्द्वनाथः कुशली तमसा-नद्याउत्तस्पार आश्रम के

सरकार, वही, पृ० ३७१; पा० टि० ३, मुरुण्डदेवी को मुरुण्डस्वामिनी भी कहा जाता था, पृ० ३७०-३७१।

१३. देखें, पा० टि० ३।

पक्ष में किया। समुद्रगुप्त ने सम्भवतः उसके वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध को अपने ज्येष्ठ पुत्र रामगुप्त के साथ स्वीकार किया होगा। ध्रुवदेवी का नाम ऐतिहासिक है।

समुद्रगुप्त की मृत्यु के वाद ऐसा आभास होता है कि गुप्त साम्राज्य पर अल्प काल के लिए दुर्दिन के मेघ छा गये थे। यह समुद्रगुप्त के शत्रुओं के लिए निःसन्देह स्वर्णिम अवसर था कि उसके दुर्दिन से लाभ उठायें—कुछ ने उठाने की चेष्टा भी की जिनमें शक प्रमुख हैं। दुर्भाग्यवश उसका उत्तराधिकार, भारतीय राजनीति की परम्परा के अनुसार, रामगुप्त ऐसे निर्बल, शासक को मिला। शक ने उसको परेशान करने के लिए तथा अपनी कन्या अथवा बहन ध्रुवस्वामिनी को ऐसे क्लीव शासक के हाथ से छुड़ाने के लिए आक्रमण किया तथा उसमें सन्धि की सबसे प्रमुख शर्त ध्रुवस्वामिनी को वापस लेना रक्खा। (चाहे जिस रूप में) इसी आड़े समय में गुप्तवंश के वीर समुद्रगुप्त की प्रतिष्ठा पर आँच लगते देख उसके छोटे भाई चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य से न रहा गया होगा। फलतः उसने स्वयं (ध्रुवदेवी के वेष में) शक स्कन्धावार में जाकर शकराज की हत्या की तथा बाद में अयोग्य एवं क्लीव भाई रामगुप्त का भी वध कर दिया और उसकी पत्नी ध्रुवदेवी से स्वयं विवाह कर लिया।

रामगुप्त के प्रतिद्वन्द्वी शत्रु के विषय में विद्वानों में गहरा मतभेद है। प्रो० राखालदास बनर्जी के अनुसार वह कोई कुषाण शासक रहा होगा क्योंकि "शक" शब्द का प्रयोग भारतीय इतिहास में बहुत लचीले रूप में हुआ है जैसे "यवन" शब्द केवल मुसलमानों के ही लिए नहीं वरन् विदेशी शत्रु के लिए होता था। इसी प्रकार "शक" शब्द का प्रयोग भी था। अतः "दैवपुत्रशाहिशाहानुशाहि" लोगों ने निश्चय ही समुद्रगुप्त की मृत्यु पर लाभ उठाने की चेष्टा की होगी। डा० दशरथ शर्मा के अनुसार यह कोई "मुरुण्ड" शासक रहा होगा।[१४] परन्तु अधिकांश विद्वान् शक को ही मानते हैं जिसकी चर्चा बाणभट्ट ने भी की है। राजशेखर ने उसे अपने काव्यमीमांसा में 'शकाधिपति' ही कहा है। वे भारत के अधिकांश भागों पर शासन करते थे। चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य ने उनको पूर्णरूप से उन्मूलन कर "शकारि" की उपाधि से अलंकृत किया था। डा० अल्तेकर ने ठीक ही कहा है कि चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य का शक शासक रुद्रसेन II से युद्ध हुआ था। इस मत की पुष्टि मुद्राओं से और अधिक हो जाती है। शकों को "महाक्षत्रप" उपाधि दीर्घ काल से प्रयोग में नहीं थी परन्तु शक स्वामी रुद्रसेन II ने उसे धारण किया था। यह निश्चय ही उसके शक्ति तथा राजनीतिक समृद्धि का द्योतक है। वह अपने पूर्ववर्ती शक नृपों से निश्चय ही अधिक शक्तिशाली एवं राजनीति में आगे रहा होगा। अतः यह बहुत सम्भव है कि समुद्रगुप्त महान् के मृत्योपरान्त जब गुप्त साम्राज्य का सिंहासन एक अति अयोग्य तथा क्लीव के हाथ में चला गया था, उसने

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१४. डा० दशरथ शर्मा, दी शक राइवल ऑफ रामगुप्त, इ० क०, जि० ५, पृ० ३२८-३०।

उचित अवसर समझ कर गुप्त साम्राज्य के कुछ अंश उससे छीन लिये होंगे। इस प्रकार रुद्रसेन II ने समुद्रगुप्त की मृत्यु के उपरान्त अपने राज्य का विस्तार किया तथा "महाक्षत्रप" की उपाधि से विभूषित हुआ। परन्तु उसे उस निर्बल नृप के कनिष्ट भ्राता चन्द्रगुप्त II ने, जो कि वास्तव में विक्रम में आदित्य के समान था, पराजित किया।[१५]

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१५. डा० उदयनारायण राय (रीडर, प्राचीन इतिहास विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय, प्रयाग) के अमूल्य मार्ग-दर्शन तथा सक्रिय सहायता के लिए मैं उनका ऋणी हूँ। श्री विद्याधर मिश्र (प्राध्यापक, प्राचीन इतिहास विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय) के प्रति आभारी हूँ क्योंकि उन्होंने प्रस्तुत अनुसन्धान में अनेक महत्त्वपूर्ण सुझाव दिये हैं।

ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF ANCIENT INDIAN VILLAGES

By LALLANJI GOPAL*

Indian villages have been characterized as self-sufficient and not dependent upon any outward source for any of their necessities. 'They in fact, include a nearly complete establishment of occupations and trades for enabling them to continue their collective life without assistance from any person or body external to them.'[1]

As early as the reign of Candragupta Maurya we find Megasthenes testifying to the economic self-sufficiency of Indian villages He remarks that the husbandmen with their wives and children live in the country and never go to the town either to take part in its tumults or for any other purpose.[2] The village life was complete by itself. The description of the lay-out of villages in the *Mānasāra*[3] shows that there was provision for men belonging to different avocations and occupations.

Of all things it is the *balute* system or *batai*[4] which is mostly responsible for preserving the integrity and unity of the autonomous life of the village corporations. The *balute* system aimed at making

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1. H. S. Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West* (London, 1913), p. 125. Also *ibid.*, p. 175.

2. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Calcutta, 1877), Fragment I, p. 42, Fragment XXXIII, p. 84.

3. IX, especially verses 144-45, 158, 217 ff.

4. According to this system the villager did not make payment to the village artisan each time the latter performed any work. The payment was made in kind at each harvest, the artisans receiving from all villagers a share of the produce. The amount of grain paid depended on the volume of services performed and the grain produced. The sociologists call this pattern of economic organization, which ties classes not engaged in agriculture as a primary occupation to the village economy through their traditional service relationships with the land-owning class, as the *Jajmān—parjan* or *Jajmānī system*. See T. O. Biedelman, *A Comparative Analysis of the Jajmānī System* (New York, 1959); W. H. Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmānī System* (Lucknow, 1936).

the village life self-sufficient by attaching into a permanent bond the different elements necessary for the communal life of a village.[5] The basis of village life is the arable land and the system of individual peasant proprietorship increased the attachment of the cultivator to his land thus guaranteeing the continuance of village economy for a long time. The fixed share of the artisan in the agricultural output removed the possibility of his going elsewhere in search of greater economic benefits. Any other system of remuneration would have left the artisan discontented with his lot and migrating from place to place. In the harmonious development of the village community the artisans had their own place, secure and stable, and, undisturbed by a ruthless struggle for existence and the many worries which a modern artisan has to face, and could devote themselves to their work with peace of mind.[6]

The *batai* system seems to have existed in any case in the time of Pāṇini. A *sūtra* in Pāṇini[7] clearly refers to craftsman attached to a village (*grāmaśilpins*). Elsewhere Pāṇini[8] mentions a village carpenter evidently to distinguish him from others who were not thus attached to a village.

We find an express testimony to the existence of this system in a passage in the *Arthaśāstra*[9] which speaks of the allotment of grain-

5. A. S. Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 90; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Craftsman*, p. 4.

6. G. Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India* (London, 1880), pp. 312–320.

7. VI, 2, 62.

8. V, 4, 95.

9. V, 2, 10-11: *Niṣpanna haritapakvādānam varayeyuḥ, anyatra śākakaṭabhaṅgamuṣṭibhyām devapitṛpūjādānārthaṃ gavārthaṃ vā. Bhikṣukagrāmabhṛtakārthaṃ ca rāśimūlaṃ parihareyuḥ.* In *Arthaśāstra* V, 3, 23 the salary to be paid to *grāmabhṛtakas* is mentioned along with the salaries of other state servants—*grāmabhṛtakasaittritīkṣṇarasadabhikṣukyaḥ pañcaśatāḥ*. But this does not make all village servants state servants. The reference probably covers cases of those village servants who were employed in state service. The *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* of Bhikṣu Prabhāmati explains *grāmabhṛtaka* as 'barbers etc.' and the *Nītinirṇīti* of Yogghama as 'potters, smiths etc.' The Malayalam commentary *Bhāṣāvyākhyānam* (on V, 3, 23) understands the term to mean washerman, barber etc. Kangle (*Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, II, p. 64, f.n.) rightly takes it to correspond to "the modern balutedars." In *Arthaśāstra* II, 24, 30 also a similar arrangement has been made—*prasīrṇaṃ ca puṣpaphalam śrotriyāstapasvinaścāharayuḥ, rāśimūlamuñchavṛttayaḥ*. But here we do not find a clear reference to the *grāmabhṛtakas*. The facilities given to the village servants can be gathered from other passages in the text.

share for religious and charitable purposes as also for payment to the village servants. This brief reference with the term *grāmabhṛtaka* applied to artisans and men of some other occupations serving a village, indicate that the payment in kind in the form of a share of grain-produce made at the time of harvest was in the nature of a remuneration for their services.

A. S. Altekar[10] rightly sees in the *Smṛti* injunction requiring artisans to serve the king in lieu of wages,[11] evidence for the prevalence of the *balute* system in ancient times. It was quite in keeping with the things that whereas the traders had to pay taxes in cash and the cultivators paid a fixed share of the agricultural output, the artisans, who did not receive wages in cash for their services should have been required to pay their taxes in terms of labour.

The *Arthaśāstra* also shows that the village artisans worked for the king and that the state supervised this type of services and main-

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Thus in connexion with the settlement of new lands the *Arthaśāstra*, II, I, 10-11 advises that fields were to be taken away from those who do not till them and were to be given to others or were to be tilled by village servants and traders—*Akṛṣatāmācchidyānyebhyaḥ prayacchet. Grāmabhṛtakavaidehakā vā kṛṣeyuḥ*. According to *Arthaśāstra* III, II, 29 the king, a Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas, a village servant, a leper and a wounded man, an outcaste, a Cāṇḍāla, a person following a despised profession, a blind, deaf, dumb or self-invited person, a woman and a king's officer could not be cited as witnesses except in the case of their own groups—*Rājaśrotriyagrāmabhṛtakakuṣṭhivraṇinaḥ patitacāṇḍālakutsita karmaṇo'ndhavadhiramūkāhṃvādinaḥ strīrājapuruṣāśca, anyatra svavargebhyaḥ*.

10. *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 93 f.

11. Gautama, X, 31-32 says that the artisans as well as those who live by personal labour and the makers of boats and of wheeled conveyances should do for the king a day's work every month. Similar rules envisaging the artisans as paying tax in terms of labour are found in the *Smṛtis* of Manu, VII, 138 and Viṣṇu, III, 32. Cf. *Agni Purāṇa*, ccxxiii, 33.

12. II, 35, 4—*Teṣu caitāvaccāturvarṇyam, etāvantaḥ karṣakagorakṣakavaidehakakārukarmakaradāsāśca, etāvacca dvipadacatuṣpadam, idaṃ caiṣu hiraṇyaviṣṭiśulkadaṇḍam samuttiṣṭhatīti.* In *Arthaśāstra*, II, 15, 63 *viṣṭi* is said to include the group of sweeper, watchman, weigher, measurer, supervisor of delivery, receiver of tallies, slaves and labourers—*Mārjakarakṣakadharakamāyakamāpakadāpakaśalākā pratigrāhakadāsakarmakaravargaśca viṣṭi*. *Arthaśāstra*, II, I, 35 implies that *viṣṭi* was one of the gains received by the king from the villagers. It says that if a villager is without shelter for outsiders and if men are engrossed in work on the fields an increase in the treasury, *viṣṭi*, goods, grains and liquids follows—*Nirāśrayatvād grāmāṇāṃ kṣetrābhiratatvācca puruṣāṇām kośaviṣṭidravya-*

tained an account of it. The *Arthaśāstra* requires the *gopa* (who looked after a group of five or ten villages) to enter in his register of houses the special charge named *viṣṭi* along with other revenue items to be charged from farmers, cowherds, traders, artisans, labourers and slaves. *Viṣṭi* is generally explained as unpaid labour performed by the villagers. Again, the revenue-head called *rāṣṭra* (country-part), which the superintendent of the magazine (*koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa*) was to look after, includes *saṁhatikā*[13] or work performed in lieu of taxes.[14] This term includes such work as pounding rice, splitting pulses, frying, fermenting and grinding (grains), the pressing of oil, and the work of extracting and treating juice of sugar-canes, which may be taken to represent work required to be done by the artisans. It is to be noted that in both these cases the references are to incomes derived from 'villages' and not from cities, or 'forts' (durgas), as the *Arthaśāstra* names them. The *Arthaśāstra* implies a different system of taxation for the artisans and craftsmen residing in cities and towns. It includes the income from the guilds of craftsmen and artisans (*kāruśilpigaṇa*) in the list of royal receipts under the head 'fort' (*durga*).[15] The existence of two separate systems of taxes, one in terms of labour in the case of village artisans and another, in the form of cash for city craftsman, is implied by the

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dhānyarasavṛddhirbhavati. In I, 4, I economics, which consists of agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade, is said to be beneficial because it yields grains, cattle, money, forest produce and *viṣṭi*—*Kṛṣipāśupālye vaṇijyā ca vārttā, dhānyapaśuhiraṇyakupyaviṣṭipradānādaupakārikī*. For references to the employment of *viṣṭi* for army see *Arthaśāstra*, IX, 2, 9—*Sainyamanekamanekasthamuktamanuktaṃ vā vilopārthaṃ yaduttiṣṭhati tadautsāhikam—abhaktavetanam vilopaviṣṭipratāpakaraṃ bhedyaṃ pareṣāṃ, abhedyaṃ tulyadeśajātiśilpaprāyaṃ saṃhatam mahat*; X, I, 9—*Caturthe viṣṭirnāyako mitrāmitrāṭavībalaṃ svapuruṣādhiṣṭhitam*; X, I, 17—*Purastādadhvanaḥ samyakpraśāstārakṣaṇāni ca. Yāyādvardhakiviṣtibhyāmudakāni ca kārayet*; X, 4, 17—*Śibiramārgasetukūpatīrthaśodhanakarmayantrāyudhāvaraṇopakaraṇagrāsavahanamāyodhanācca praharaṇāvaraṇapratividdhāpanayanomiti viṣṭikarmāṇi*.

13. In Grantha and Malayalam manuscripts the reading is *siṁhatikā*. The Tamil-Malayalam commentary *Bhāṣāvyākhyāna* and the *Pratipadapañcikā* by Bhaṭṭasvāmin have respectively *siṁhanikā* and *saṁhanikā*. The term has been used in a technical sense, but as remarked by Kangle, some derivation can be suggested for *saṁhatikā* and *saṁhanikā*, but not for *siṁhatikā* and *siṁhanikā*.

14. II, 5, I. 8—*Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣaḥ sītārāṣṭrakrayimaparivartakaprāmityakāpamityakasaṁhatikānyajātavyayapratyāyopasthānānyupalabhet...... Kuṭṭakarocakasaktuśuktapiṣṭakarma tajjīvaneṣu tailapīḍanamaudracākrikeṣvikṣūṇām ca kṣārakarma saṁhatikā*.

15. II, 6, 1—3.

Śaṅkhalikhita Smṛti[16] which says that the towns were exempted from the dues for unpaid labour (*vaiṣṭika*) and for services as messengers (*jaṅghika*). Megasthenes also testifies that generally the workmen, the handicraftsmen and the artisans had to render to the state certain prescribed services but sometimes had to pay a tribute.[17]

The actual number of village servants rendering service under the system of *balute* probably varied with the needs of each individual case. It is, however, fair to suggest that the artisans or craftsmen who worked on this basis generally belonged to occupations or industries which were either of direct help to agricultural needs, or were otherwise necessary for the social life of a villager. The statement of Patañjali that in each village there were at least five artisans is of much significance for social history. Nāgeśa mentions a potter, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a barber and a washerman as included in this list of five artisans.[18] Nāgeśa seems to be supported by Jain works which have a similar list, said to include five important craftsmen, obviously from the point of view of a villager. These are a cloth-maker, a potter, a carpenter, a blacksmith and a barber.[19]

It is mostly thanks to periodical markets that the needs of villagers are generally satisfied; but in view of the absence of any reference to village *hāṭs* in ancient literature the question may be raised as to how the ancient villages provided for all their requirements. It is, however, to be remarked that the self-sufficiency of villages did not amount to their having been totally cut off from towns and cities. On the other hand, there are indications that the facilities of communication and transport were not denied to villages. Not only were there roads and streets in the villages themselves, they were connected with cities by established roads.[20] Indeed,

16. Quoted in *Vivādaratnākara*, p. 662.

17. U. N. Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* (Calcutta, 1929), p. 176.

18. On Pāṇini, I, I, 48; Kielhorn, I, 118.

19. *Āvaśyakacūrṇi*, p. 156; *Ṭīkā* (Hari), 947, p. 426a, quoted by J. C. Jain, *Life in ancient India as depicted by Jain Canons* (Bombay, 1947), p. 97.

20. In the *Mānasāra* (IX, 97—104, 132—37, 183—208, 322—24, 328—52, 420—40, 459—64, 477—81) we find detailed provisions about the construction of different type and size of roads in the villages. According to the *Mānasāra* the maximum width of the main road of a village was 5 daṇḍas; the width of others ranging between 1 and 5 daṇḍas; see E. B. Havell, *Ancient and Medieval Architecture*

Indian literature is full of references to men belonging to different walks of life, journeying from one village to another, covering large tracts and taking part in trade and commerce.[21] It seems, however, that in later times when insecurity spread in the country the periodical markets[22] supplemented the self-sufficiency of villagers by fulfilling their needs from time to time.[23]

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of India (London, 1915), p. 12. Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, I (2). 7, 112. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla (V, 19; VII, 23, 82; II, 40) mentions village *rathyās* or roads fit for the use of chariots. In one instance (IV, 93) it even indicates that such roads were of considerable width. Moreover, some inscriptions that record gifts of land mention royal roads or simple roads in connexion with the enumeration of the boundaries of fields of villages granted—N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III (Rajshahi, 1929), pp. 158 ff; *E. I.* III, no. 40. Again, in some of the literary references to caravans marching from one commercial centre to the other we read that the road passed through villages and other smaller habitations—*Divyāvadāna*, p. 232, *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, I. 3078. It has, however, to be recognised that the roads were generally uneven and dusty. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* refers to the mud on the village roads (VII, 23, 82), and remarks that travelling on them was slow, due to the ups and downs. A lively and realistic account of the condition of roads is revealed by some of the utterances made by the troops during the march of Harṣa's army—*Harṣacarita*, pp. 183f.

21. Cf. *Dasaveyāliya Cūrṇi*, p. 58—we read of a villager proceeding to trade with his bullock-cart loaded with corn.

22. Later inscriptions record the grant of villages along with their *haṭṭa* (*E. I. XXII, no.* 25, p. 155), *haṭṭavara* or *haṭṭiyagṛha* (*E. I.* XIX, no. 49, p. 282). The Dabok inscription dated A.D. 813 (*E. I.* XX, no. 13) refers to two streets (vīthi) in a *haṭṭa* and to a road (*mārga*) leading to the *haṭṭa*. A Damodarpur inscription records the details of the procedure connected with sale and purchase of a plot of land for a *haṭṭa*—*E. I.* XV, No. 7 (no. 2). The Ghatiyala inscription dated A.D. 860 (*E. I.* X, no. 38) describes how when the Rohinsakupaka village had become unsafe on account of the Abhiras, Kakkuka constructed a *haṭṭa* decorated with variegated streets and, promising the people means of livelihood, established them there. The taxes collected from the *haṭṭas* must have been an important source of income. *Haṭṭika* (E. I., IV, no. 34, p. 254) or the tax realised from the *haṭṭas* was one of the dues granted by the kings to brāhmaṇas or religious institutions.

23. It need not be emphasised that local markets, as distinct from periodical markets, must always have existed with the use of the barter.

SECTION VII

FOLKLORE

A NOTE ON THE STUDY OF FEASTS AND FESTIVITIES OF THE HINDUS

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI*

The religious and social life of the Hindus abounds with numerous feasts and festivities all round the year. These centre round the worship of various deities on particular days considered sacred for the purpose, as also birth, death, marriage and other memorable events in one's family. Their forms differ from place to place, though they follow almost the same or similar patterns everywhere. Some of these are old and of wide prevalence, while many are of a local nature confined to more or less small areas. Most of them have lost their erstwhile grandeur and minute details and are generally observed in truncated forms due to the impact of urban conditions; quite a number have become or are fast going to become defunct. It is high time that an organized attempt were made with the help of a band of competent scholars representing different parts of the country to compile faithful descriptions of the rites and rituals connected with the feasts and festivities with special reference to their salient features and their local variations. It will present a vivid picture of India as it is or at least as it was in the recent past.

The descriptions will be useful if prepared embodying the information required in the draft pro-forma given below:

1. Title of the festival–

2. Meaning of the title (where it is not apparent) –

3. Date and time of its performance (the particular *tithi* or day and hour) –

4. Enumeration of the rites and rituals connected with it--

5. Name with a brief description of an old work, if any, which refers to, sanctions or describes the festival.

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The few descriptions found here and there of some of the festivals are usually based on superficial observations and are far from satisfactory, lacking relevant information on many points. In these circumstances want of proper appreciation due to ignorance of details often leads to misunderstanding with neighbours and stands in the way of the cultivation of the desired intimacy and friendly relations. The undercurrent of unity is missed by the casual and superficial observer. Its discovery through sufficient knowledge of facts is the source of joyful regard for the person so far ignored.

We might begin with descriptive accounts of All-India Festivals or festivals current over many parts of the country and the Holi. Though each of the festivals is essentially one and the same everywhere they are observed, they have their differences which are none the less prominent. The three are known respectively as Durgāpūjā, Kālīpūjā and Dolyātrā in Bengal, names which point to their local distinctive features. Gorgeous worship of Durgā and Kālī, popular deities of Bengal, and swinging the images of Viṣṇu and his consort are the principal functions on these occasions here. Burning effigies of Rāvaṇa and enacting other events pertaining to Rāma–Demon clash described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, festivals of light and colours appear to constitute the main ceremonies elsewhere. Details require to be collected.

Śivarātri, Janmāṣṭamī, Rāmanavamī, Vasantapañcamī and Nāgapañcamī are other festivals with wide currency and enjoying varied degrees of popularity.

Besides festivals of different types are observed in different areas on the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādra, full-moon days of the months of Vaiśākha, Śrāvaṇa and Kārtika as well as on the Makara-Saṁkramaṇa day or the day on which the Sun enters the Capricorn—days which are regarded specially sacred. Ritualistic differences of different parts require to be scrutinized.

Marriage and other rites including funeral rites which are primarily Vedic have numerous and interesting differences which ought to be studied with the help of the scriptures.

Local festivals of which the number is a legion are either sanctioned by the Śāstras or supported by customs sometimes of hoary

antiquity. In this connection folk deities demand special study which is expected to yield interesting results. The identity of these deities is generally unknown. They have been indiscriminately affiliated to the Brahmanic pantheon and identified with one or other of the Brahmanic gods. Most of them have no images but have anthropomorphic descriptions in Sanskrit or the regional languages. Stories regarding their greatness are often told on the occasion of worship which occasionally contain references to distinctive elements. Details of these deities are difficult to be collected due to scarcity of written records and the presence of hopeless corruptions in course of oral transmission among illiterate persons who are their principal custodians. The following points should be kept in mind in this connection :—

1. Name of the deity.
2. Purpose of worship.
3. Place of worship.
4. Special day for worship.
5. Any provision for daily worship.
6. Caste of the Worshipper (if the Services of a Brahmin priest are not required).
7. Description of the deity.
8. Details of the rituals.
9. Any story about the greatness of the deity.

FOLKTALES OF THE MIRIS

By PRAPHULLADATTA GOSWAMI*

Like other peoples of Assam the Miris of Upper Assam too have interesting folktales. As some of the Miris have retained a rather close community life, myths and explanatory tales still play a clear role in either determining their attitude towards the unseen and seen worlds or in controlling their beliefs and activity. Some of their beliefs find echoes among other plainsmen of the land. For instance, it is a widespread belief that if one takes away a fish caught by a fish-eagle one is likely to lose a son. Miris explain the origin of the belief in this manner: In olden days God decided to make the fish-eagle king over all birds. So He asked the bird to observe a fast of two days. It failed to keep the fast. So God cursed the bird, "You will get a fish to eat only if you keep a fast of twelve days." The crest-fallen fish-eagle said, "If someone snatches away the fish I catch at the end of twelve days, I'll have to starve. What'll I do then?" God said. "I can't revoke my curse, but if anyone takes away the fish you catch, he will lose his son."

This myth has a sequel, in a test taken by God in order to find a bird fit to be the king. God prepared a cauldron of boiling oil and said, "Whichever bird is able to take a dip in the oil would be considered fit for kingship." While the other birds delayed taking the test, the slim drongo swooped into the oil and flew out proving its competence to be the king. Because the bird took a bath in boiling oil it turned black, but it now is so bold that it even pursues larger birds like crows and kites and drives them off. An Assamese proverbial saying which describes a person who is irresolute or who shilly-shallies, goes somewhat like this: "Ah, you did up and dressed, the drongo has already become the king." The tale has an *Ao Naga* analogue.

This tale explains why the drongo is black; certain other tales explain why human beings do not see the gods, why monkeys live in jungles, why swine live under their raised houses while dogs live

* Hillside, Gauhati—3.

in them (this has *Ao Naga*[1] and *Wancho* parallels), why leeches and mosquitoes suck human blood, why Miris have no letters, and so on. The myth explaining how Miris lost their letters has an Abor version, indicating that Miris and Abors have certain things in common. It has also parallels among Thadu Kukis, Nagas,[2] Garos[3] and certain tribes in South-east Asia. Daying Ba-bu, the god of wisdom, gave to human beings speech and then asked them to take the letters with which they could write down their speech. The ancestor of the Miris took down the letters on a deerskin. He kept the deerskin in the loft and forgot all about it. Much later, one day when he had nothing to eat, he took down the skin, roasted it in the fire and ate it up. Thus the letters were lost. The Mois of Annam explain their illiteracy in this manner:[4] "When the Great Spirit told all the nations to bring writing materials, on which the alphabet would be inscribed, the Mois, with typical improvidence, instead of providing tablets of stone or even wood, turned up with a piece of deerskin, which later, complete with alphabet, was eaten up by the dogs."

All over India we find animal tales in which one animal tries to outwit another. The jackal or fox figures prominently in such tales, for instance, in the Assamese "The Fox and the Monkey."[5] In a Kachari tale the place of the fox is occupied by a hare. The hare is tricked by a monkey and the latter is also tricked by the no less clever hare. Certain motifs in the Miri tale "The Monkey and the Tiger" recall parts of the Assamese and Kachari parallels. In the Miri tale, the monkey eats up some fruits and gives his friend the tiger only the peels. So the tiger invites him to get some honey from beehive on a tall tree. The bees bite the intruder and he drops down in a Miri place. As he cannot get out of the mire the monkey entreats the tiger thus, "I am sorry for what I did you. Please save me now. Instead of allowing me to die here in the mire you may as well take me out and eat me." The tiger takes him at his word and wants to eat him, but he says, "I'm muddy all over, why not get me washed?" When he is washed and cleaned he says,

1. Praphulladatta Goswami, *Asamiya Janasahitya*, 1965, p. 129.
2. William Shaw, *The Thadou Kukis*, 1229, p. 94, see also foot-note.
3. Dewan Singh Rongmutha, *Folk-tales of the Garos*, 1960, pp. 1-2.
4. Norman Lewis, *A Dragon Apparent*, p. 89.
5. J. Borooah, *Folk-tales of Assam*, 1915, pp. 8—16.

"Let me dry my body in the sun while you go to that village and get some fire so that you can roast me and have a tasty meal." As the tiger leaves for the village, the monkey climbs up a tree and escapes.

In the second part of the Kachari tale of the Monkey and the Hare,[6] the monkey is saved by a tiger, but the tiger there is cleverer for when the monkey escapes to a tree, the tiger feigns death and lies on the ground unmoving. The monkey finding his enemy dead dances and puts his head into the open jaws of the apparently dead tiger, who suddenly closes his mouth with a crunch.

Formula tales are rather few in Assam. In such tales the form is fixed, one incident following close on another according to a set pattern. The incidents go on accumulating till the climax, then there is a turning back to the earlier incidents. "Why the back of the toad is full of warts" is a formula tale. It can be summarised in this manner: One noon, a bat was eating seeds in a tree. A frog suddenly croaked and frightened it. The bat flew away and frightened a squirrel who was nibbling at the berry of a palm. The squirrel ran away and a berry dropped on a barking deer. The frightened barking deer ran away and knocked off a bamboo. The bamboo hit a crab and broke its leg. In severe pain the crab moved away and bit off the tail of a snake. In pain the snake rushed up to the nest of a tailor bird and ate up its eggs. The weeping tailor bird approached the public to give it justice. So all came and sat in an assembly. The snake was hauled up, but it said, "I am blameless. It is because the crab bit off my tail that I ate up the tailor bird's eggs." So the crab was brought up. In this way the incidents are gone over backwards and ultimately the crime is placed on the shoulder of the frog. The assembly poured hot ashes on the back of the frog as a punishment, and since then its back is full of warts. The tale has Mikir and Kuki parallels.

Miris have other kinds of tales too, for instance, tales illustrative of a belief in fate and wisdom. One day God's wife said to him, "Why don't you bestow wealth on that unfortunate person?" God said, "An unfortunate person can never acquire wealth." To prove the point he poured gold coins into the boat of the man.

6. J. D. Anderson. *Collection of Kachari Folk-tales and Rhymes*, 1895, pp. 27–31.

The latter thought there must have fallen a larger amount of gold coins in his yard. So he left his boat and ran home as fast as he could. There was no gold in his yard, nor did he find the coins in his boat. This is about fate, and who does not lean on fate sometimes? In a Central India tale[7] a trader overhears that God Shankar will shower gold in the yard of a poor Brahman. So he exchanges his house with the cottage of the Brahman. The Brahman gets the gold while the greedy trader not only does not find any gold but loses his house as well. In a Khasi tale[8] a poor man does not get the promised money because while going to find it he shuts his eyes on the road and misses it.

Here is a tale on a more realistic plane, which illustrates the truth that one should not plant anything on the boundary of one's field. Ngate and Narah had a common boundary where Ngate planted a pumpkin seedling. The plant spread into Narah's field and bore fruits. Narah's wife took away the fruits and this led to a feud between the neighbours. One day Narah invited Ngate to a drink. Ngate drank too much and while he remained intoxicated, his host carried off his cattle. When he came to Ngate he realised that it was the pumpkin plant raised on the boundary which led to this feud and to this trickery.

Miri folktales have not been recorded to any considerable extent, only a few having seen print. If they are recorded we will find in them many features in common with tales recorded in other parts of Assam, thus showing evidences of give and take among the various cultural groups of the state. I have already pointed to certain similarities with Assamese and Kachari folktales. To give another instance, the Miri tale of "Lightning and Thunder" is substantially the same as the Kachari "Raona and Raoni."[9] In both a brother develops an unusual passion for his sister, the latter being unwilling to marry him escapes up into the sky. The fair-skinned sister fleeing from her brother is the lightning while the brother who pursues crying and shouting is the thunder. The tale of a Lightning Girl is found also in Western India.

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7. Srichandra Jain, *Bindhyabhumi Ki Lokakathaen*, 1955, pp. 10-11.
8. Ivan M. Simon, *Khasi and Jaintia Tales and Beliefs*, 1966, pp. 96–99.
9. Bhabendra Narzi, *Boro-Kacharir Janasahitya*, 1957, pp. 79-80.

SECTION VIII

ASTRONOMY

बृहत्संहिताया विमर्शः

श्री बलदेव उपाध्यायः*

मिहिरभक्तोऽवन्तिमिहिरो वराहमिहिरो महीयते कर्ता बृहत्संहिताया ज्योतिर्विद्धितायाः। जनको[1] मिहिर (=आदित्य-) दासो गुरुश्चापि। समधिगतमिहिरवरप्रसादेन वराहमिहिरेण वन्दितो मिहिरो ग्रन्थादौ हार्द्या। यद्यपीदमीयो गुरुर्भिन्नो जनकादिति ज्ञायते पञ्चसिद्धान्तिकाया मङ्गलश्लोकेन[2] तथापि तत्र 'येनास्मिन् नः कृतो बोधः' इत्येकवचनान्तताऽलं द्वयोरैक्यप्रतिपादनाय। वाराहीसंहितेत्यभिधानान्तरं बृहत्संहितायाः।

द्वादशोत्तरचतुश्शतसंख्याके शाके समजनि जनिरस्य लब्धवर्णस्येत्यनुमानम्। यद्यपि न कृता संख्यावता तेन स्वकीयसमयचर्चा विशदा तथापि पञ्चसिद्धान्तिकाख्ये करणग्रन्थे निजे समाश्रुतो गणितारम्भाब्दः सप्तविंशत्युत्तरचतुश्शते (४२७) शाके। एवं खलु प्रसिद्ध्यत्येतदीया जनिस्ततः पूर्वम्। तेन बृहज्जातक-बृहद्यात्रा-बृहद्विवाहपटलयात्रेति ग्रन्थत्रयरचना बृहत्संहितातः प्राक् कृतेति स्वयमेवोक्तं बृहत्संहितायाम्।[3] बृहत्संहिता नूनं प्रौढरचनेति संश्रवे पञ्चदशवर्षदेशीयो न प्रभवेत् कर्तुं स ताम् इत्यतोऽपि प्राक् पश्चाब्दा निर्धारयितुं शक्यन्ते।

विषयविवेचनम्—नभोगतपिण्डानि प्रभावयन्ति मानवभाग्यमिति शक्यते वक्तुं तद्भाग्यम्। भारते वर्षे सुपुरातनोऽयं विश्वासः। केचन विश्वासमिमं 'बेबिलोन' इत्याख्यदेशात् संप्राप्तं मन्वते। ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु सूत्रग्रन्थेषु च नक्षत्रविचारो लभ्यते। पुरोहितवद् भूपः फलितज्योतिर्विदं समाश्रयेदिति धर्मसूत्रेषु विधिः। मागधानां पुरोहितानुचरवर्गाणां फलितज्योतिर्विदां च गणना कौटलीयार्थशास्त्रे नानवद्या। शुभाशुभलक्षणैर्भाविकथनाय, सैन्योत्साहाय, रिपुत्रासाय चापेक्ष्यते फलितज्योतिर्विद् भूपैः। तदुक्त बृहत्संहितायाम्—

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* अनुसंधान-संस्थान-संचालकेन, वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालये, वाराणस्याम्

१. तदुक्तमुपसंहाराध्याये बृहज्जातकस्य तेनैव—
आदित्यदासतनयस्तदवाप्तबोधः कापित्थके सवितृलब्धवरप्रसादः ॥९॥

२. दिनकरवसिष्ठपूर्वान् विविधमुनीन् भावतः प्रणम्यादौ।
जनकं गुरुं च शास्त्रे येनास्मिन् न कृतो बोधः॥

३. १, १०।

अप्रदीपा यथा रात्रिरनादित्यं यथा नभः ।
तथाऽसांवत्सरो राजा भ्रमत्यन्ध इवाध्वनि ॥१, ८॥
नासांवत्सरिके देशे वस्तव्यं भूतिमिच्छता ।
चक्षुर्भूतो हि यत्रैष पापं तत्र न विद्यते ॥१, ११॥

अभूवन् फलितज्योतिषविषयका बह्वो ग्रन्थाः प्रागिति नास्ति संशीतिलेशः । पाणिनीयाष्टाध्याय्या महत्त्वेन पूर्ववर्तिव्याकरणग्रन्थलोपवद् वराहमिहिरकृतबृहत्संहिताया महिम्ना प्रायः समे सुपुरातना ज्योतिर्विषयका ग्रन्थास्तिरोहिताः । वराहमिहिरो गर्गासितदेवलवृद्धगर्गनारदपराशरादीन् पूर्ववर्तिनो ग्रन्थकारान् स्मरति स्वकीये ग्रन्थे । एतेषां ग्रन्थकाराणां ग्रन्थखण्डितांशा लभ्यन्ते । तत्र वृद्धगर्गसंहिताया गार्गीसंहिताया वा खण्डितांशा आधिक्यतो दृश्यन्ते । ग्रन्थोऽयं ग्रीसदेशीयानां भारतशासनोल्लेखाय सुप्रसिद्धः । खैस्ताब्दात् पूर्वं प्रथमशताब्द्यामुपलभ्यते स्म ग्रन्थरत्नमिदमित्यत्र नास्ति किमपि गमकम् । म्लेच्छयवनेषु फलितज्योतिषशास्त्रं सम्यक् स्थितमिति ते पूज्यन्त ऋषिवत् पुनः किं वक्तव्यं दैवविद्-द्विजस्यार्हणाविषये इति भावार्थकः कथनमस्मिन् ग्रन्थे विद्यते । वराहमिहिरेणापीदृशमेवोक्तं[१] तच्चास्माद् ग्रन्थाद् गृहीतमिति फलितज्योतिषाध्ययनार्थं तद्विदेशगमनकल्पना भ्रान्त्यनिर्लिप्ता, तद्ग्रन्थवर्णितविषयाणां ग्रन्थानां तद्ग्रन्थरचनतः प्रागेव विनिर्मितत्वात् । पूर्वाचार्यं ग्रन्थालोडनपूर्वकं कृतेयं कृतिः समासत इति प्रतिजानीते स बृहत्संहितायाम्—

आब्रह्मादिविनिःसृतमालोक्य ग्रन्थविस्तरं क्रमशः ।
क्रियमाणकमेवैतत् समासतोऽतो ममोत्साहः ॥१ अ० ५ श्लो०
भूयो वराहमिहिरस्य न युक्तमेतत्
कर्तुं समासकृदसाविति तस्य दोषः ।
तज्ज्ञैर्न वाच्यमिदमुक्तफलानुगीति
यद्बर्हिचित्रकमिति प्रथितं वराङ्गम् ॥४६, २॥

आर्यभटेन गोलपादे भूभ्रमणसिद्धान्तः प्रत्यपादि सर्वतः प्राक् "अनुलोमगतिर्नौस्थः" इति । ब्रह्मसिद्धान्ते[२] ब्रह्मगुप्तेन प्रत्यादेशि सः "प्राणेनैति कलां भूर्यदि" इति । एवमेव वराहमिहिरेण चन्द्रग्रहणादिविषये प्रदर्शिता स्वोपज्ञता । 'भूच्छायां स्वग्रहणे'[३] इति प्रतिपादयता तेन चन्द्रग्रहणकारणं भूच्छायेति प्रदर्शितम् । संपूर्णः श्लोकश्चेत्थम्—

भूच्छायां स्वग्रहणे भास्करमर्कग्रहे प्रविशतीन्दुः ।
प्रग्रहणमतः पश्चान्नेन्दोर्भानोश्च पूर्वार्द्धात् ॥

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१. म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम् ।
ऋषिवत् तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैवविद् द्विजः ॥२, १४॥

२. ११ अध्याये

३. ५, ८

धीमत्तल्लजो वराहमिहिरः स्वसिद्धान्तस्थापनात् प्राक् प्रचलितपूर्वं 'राहुकृतमर्कचन्द्रयोर्ग्रहणम्' इति सिद्धान्तं निराकृत्य तस्मिन् काले स्वपाण्डित्यं प्रदर्शितवान् सडिण्डिमघोषम् । तत्कृतं खण्डनमवश्यमध्येयम्—

यदि मूर्तो भविचारी शिरोऽथवा भवति मण्डली राहुः ।
भगणार्द्धेनान्तरितौ गृह्णाति कथं नियताचारः ॥५ अ० ४ श्लो०॥

अनियताचारः खलु चेदुपलब्धिः संख्यया कथं तस्य ।
पुच्छाननाभिधानोऽन्तरेण कस्मान्न गृह्णाति ॥५, ५॥

अथ तु भुजगेन्द्ररूपः पुच्छेन मुखेन वा स गृह्णाति ।
मुखपुच्छान्तरसंस्थं स्थगयति कस्मान्न भगणार्द्धम् ॥५, ६॥

राहुद्वयं यदि स्याद् ग्रस्तेऽस्तमितेऽथवोदिते चन्द्रे ।
तत्समगतिनान्येन ग्रस्तः सूर्योऽपि दृश्येत ॥५, ७॥

रात्रौ भूच्छायाराहित्येन चन्द्रग्रहणाभाव इत्याशङ्कापि निराकृता तेनेत्थम्—"यथा वृक्षस्य दीर्घचया स्वच्छाया खल्वेकपार्श्वे भवति तद्वद् निशि निशि दिनेशस्य भूमेरावरणवशाज्ज्ञेया तच्छायेति । प्रतिमासं चन्द्रग्रहणं कुतो नेति शङ्कापि समाहिता[1] एवं सत्यपि वराहमिहिरेण 'चन्द्रग्रहणकारणं भूच्छाया' इति ज्ञानं पूर्वाचार्येभ्य उपगतमित्यूरीकृतम्—

एवमुपरागकारणमुक्तमिदं दिव्यदृग्भिराचार्यैः ।
राहुरकारणमस्मिन्नित्युक्तः शास्त्रसद्भावः ॥५, १३॥

वराहमिहिरो ज्योतिषशास्त्रं त्रिधा विभजते । १. सिद्धान्तज्योतिषं गणितीयाधारश्च । तन्त्रेति नामान्तरम् । २. होरा जन्मपत्रादिकं संबध्नाति । भट्टोत्पलाचार्येण 'होरायाम् = जातके' इति प्रतिपादितं बृहत्संहितायाः[2] टीकायाम् । इदमभिधानं सुस्पष्टं ग्रीकभाषीयम्; ३. संहिता भौतिकफलितज्योतिषं संबध्नाति । यत्र ग्रन्थे कार्त्स्न्येन ज्योतिषशास्त्रवर्णनं सा संहिता ।[3] होरा-गणिति-संहितेति समुदितं त्रिस्कन्धज्योतिषशास्त्रम् ।

बृहत् संहितायाः साहित्यिकं सौन्दर्यम्

इयं बृहत्संहिता वराहमिहिरप्रणीतग्रन्थेषु मूर्द्धन्यमणिरिव शोभते । तेषु समेष्वियं महिष्ठा । वाराहीसंहितेत्यभिधानान्तरमस्याः । इह ग्रन्थे महानुभावोऽयं ग्रामं गच्छंस्तृणं

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१. ५।१०

२. १, ६

३. १, ९

स्पृशतीति न्यायेन बहुविधं भूगोलछन्दःकाव्यादीनां कोशं संनिवेशितवान् फलितज्योतिशास्त्रवर्णनपरोऽपि। सांवत्सरेण विदुषा तेन छन्दसि भाषायां च पूर्णतः प्रदर्शितं वैदुष्यम्। ग्रन्थस्यास्यानुवाद आरव्यभाषामयोऽलवरूनीमहाशयेन संपादितोऽभिव्यनक्ति ग्रन्थमहिमानं सहस्राब्दीतः पूर्वमितः। तद्रचनायां यत्र क्वापि साध्यो हि कवित्वयोग्यतासंस्पर्शो विद्वन्मनोहारी। प्रस्तूयते किमपि निदर्शनम्। तत्र विभाव्यतां सौष्ठवं सुधीभिः।

अगस्त्यस्य मुनेः प्राधान्यद्वारेण समुद्रशोभामुपवर्णयितुमाह--

समुद्रोऽन्तः शैलैर्मकरनखरोत्खातशिखरैः
कृतस्तोयोच्छित्त्या सपदि सुतरां येन रुचिरः।
पतन्मुक्तामिश्रैः प्रवरमणिरत्नाम्बुनिवहैः
सुरान् प्रत्यादेष्टुं मितमुकुटरत्नानिव पुरा॥१२, १॥

भगवतागस्त्यमुनिना पूर्वं जलापहरणेन तत्क्षणमेव सागरो रम्यो विहितः। जलाभावात् तत्रत्या पर्वता रत्नादिसमलंकृत मूर्धानो देवानधरीचक्रुरित्याकूतम्।

शरद्वर्णनचमत्कृतिरतुला। नदीनां प्रत्यहं जलाल्पत्वात् पुलिनानि भवन्ति व्यक्तानि। तानि च हंसैः सेव्यन्ते। पार्श्वद्वयाधिष्ठित चक्रवाका (चक्रवाका लोहितवर्णाः पक्षिविशेषाः) सस्वनहंसपंक्तिः शरत् ताम्बूलरक्तोत्कषिताग्रदन्ती योषेव शोभत इत्युत्प्रेक्षते ग्रन्थकारः--

पार्श्वद्वयाधिष्ठितचक्रवाका-
मापुष्णती सस्वन हंसपंक्तिम्।
ताम्बूलरक्तोत्कषिताग्रदन्ती
विभाति योषेव शरत् सहासा॥१२,८॥

अन्यच्च--

इन्दीवरासन्नसितोत्पलान्विता शरद् भ्रमत्षट्पदपंक्तिभूषिता।
सभ्रूलताक्षेपकटाक्षवीक्षणा विदग्धयोषेव विभाति सस्मरा॥१२,९॥
इन्दोः पयोदविगमोपहितां विभूतिं द्रष्टुं तरङ्गवलया कुमुदं निशासु।
उन्मूलियत्यलिनिलीनदलं सुपक्ष्म वापी विलोचनमिवासिततारकान्तम्॥१२,१०॥

भूमेः शोभावर्णनम्--

नानाविचित्राम्बुजहंसकोककारण्डवापूर्णतडागहस्ता।
रत्नैः प्रभूतैः कुसुमैः फलैश्च भूयंच्छतीवार्घमगस्त्यनाम्ने॥१२,११॥

भुजङ्गप्रयातच्छन्दोनिबद्धं मेघवर्णनमिदम्--

तडिद्धैमकक्ष्यैर्बलाकाग्रदन्तैः
स्रवद्वारिदानैश्चलत्प्रान्तहस्तैः ।
विचित्रेन्द्रचापध्वजोच्छ्रायशोभै-
स्तमालालिनीलैर्वृतं चाब्दनागैः ॥२४,१७॥

द्रुतविलम्बितच्छन्दोनिबद्धं च तत्--

सशिखिचातकदर्दुरनिःस्वनै-
र्यदि विमिश्रितमन्द्रपटुस्वनाः ।
खमवतत्य दिगन्तविलम्बिनः
सलिलदाः सलिलौघमुचः क्षितौ ॥२४,१९ ॥

पीताम्बरवेष्टितशरीरस्य भगवतो नन्दनन्दनस्य कान्तिं चोरयतां मेघानां वर्णनम्--

सन्ध्यानुरक्ते नभसि स्थिताना-
मिन्दीवरश्यामरुचां घनानाम्
वृन्दानि पीताम्बरवेष्टितस्य
कान्तिं हरेश्चोरयतां यदा वा ॥२४, १८॥

इह पेपीय्यतां याथातथ्येन काव्यमाधुर्यम्--

शालीक्षुमत्यपि धरा धरणीधराभ-
धाराधरोज्झितपयः परिपूर्णवप्रा ।
श्रीमत्सरोरुहततताम्बुतडागकीर्णा
योषेव भात्यभिनवाभरणोज्ज्वलाङ्गी ॥१९, १६॥

क्षत्रं क्षितौ क्षपितभूरिबलारिपक्ष--
मुद्घुष्टनैकजयशब्दविरावताशम् ।
संहृष्टशिष्टजनदुष्टविनष्टवर्गा
गां पालयन्त्यवनिपा नगराकराढ्याम् ॥१९, १७॥

पेपीयते मधु मधौ सह कामनीभि-
र्जेगीयते श्रवणहारि सवेणुवीणम् ।
बोभुज्यतेऽतिथिसुहृत्स्वजनैः सहान्न-
मब्दे सितस्य मदनस्य जयावघोषः ॥१९, १८॥

बृहत्संहिताया भौगोलिकं महत्त्वम्

एवं तावद् ग्रन्थस्यास्य सुविशङ्कटो विषयवस्तुसीमा। फलितज्योतिषमाहात्म्यवर्णनानन्तरं निरूप्यन्ते ग्रन्थकारेण दिवाकरगतिप्रभावाः, चन्द्रगतपरिवर्तनानि ग्रहैः सार्धं च तत्संयोगाः ग्रहणानि च। तदनन्तरं विभिन्ननक्षत्राणां प्रभावो मानवभाग्ये केन रूपेण जायत इति समुपवर्णितम्। चतुर्दशेऽध्याये भारतीयभूगोलस्वरूपं तात्कालिकं प्रसङ्गतः समुपस्थापितमिति महते ज्ञानाय तद्विदाम्।

ज्योतिषशास्त्रप्रतिपादनपरेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे भूगोलकोशरत्नानि पूर्वस्मिन् खण्डे प्रायशः सर्वत्र विकीर्णानि। तत्र स्मृता देशा जना जनपदाश्च बाहुल्येन न श्रूयन्ते। तेषां केचन प्रस्तूयन्ते—

सुह्मजनाः (५, ३७)। अपरान्त्या जनाः (३, ४०; ९, १५), अपरान्तका वा (५, ७०; १४, २०)। सिंहपुरकाः (३, ४२), कुकुराः (५, ७१; १४, ४), कोटिवर्षाः (९, ११), शूलिकाः (९, १५; २१; १०, ७; १४, ८; २३; १६, ३४)। प्रत्यन्ताः (५, ३१।९, १७, २१।१०, ६) = गह्वरवासिनः। चारुदेवयः (९, १८) = चारुदेवी नदी तत्तटनिवासिनः। जाङ्गलाः (९, २९)—जाङ्गलम् = स्वल्पोदकस्थानम्, तत्र ये निवसन्ति ते। पारतः (१४, २१), पारता जनाः (१०, ७।१३, ९।१६, ४।१२, २१), पारतरा जना वा (१०, ५) = पर्थियनजनाः। आवगाणा (११, ६१; १६, ३७)। माण्डव्याः (१४, २; २२, २७)। उज्जिहानाः (१४, २)। असिकाः (११, ५६)। देविका (११, ३५) = एतन्नामिकानदी। नीपाः (१४, २)। गौरग्रीवाः (१४, ३)। पाण्डुगुण्डाः (१४, ३)। पुरिकाः (१४, १०)। तालिकटाः (१४, ११)। सौरिकीर्णाः (१४, ११)। फणिकाराः (१४, १२)। आवर्त्तकाः (१४, १२)। पिशिकाः (१४, १४)। कार्मरणेयकाः (१४, १५)। ऋषिका जनाः (१४, १५)। मरुचीपट्टनम् (१४, १५)—तु० मछलीपट्टन इति। चेर्यार्यकाः (१४, १५), तु० (पांड्य) चेरी। बलदेवपट्टनम् (१४, १५)। अरवाः (१४, १७) = अरवदेशीयाः नारीमुखाः (१४, १७)। मार्गराः (१४, १८)। कर्णप्रावेयाः (१४, १८)। चञ्चूकाः (१४, १८)। शान्तिकाः (१४, २०)। वोक्काणाः (१४, २०।१६, ३४)। तारक्षितिः (१४, २१)। हलडाः (१४, २२)। फल्गुलुकाः (१४, २३)। गुलुहाः (१४, २३)। मरुकुच्चाः (१४, २३)। वसातयः (१४, २५।१७, १९)। वाटधानाः (१४, २६; १६, २१)। शरधानाः (१४, २६)। पुष्कलावताः (१४, २६)। कैलावताः (१४, २६)। कण्ठधानाः (१४, २६)। कच्छाराः (१४, २७)। माणहलाः (१४, २७)। कोहलाः (१४, २७)। डामराः (१४, ३०)। कुनटाः (१४, ३०)। गोलाङ्गूलाः (१६, ३)। पारा (१६, १०)। भासापराः (१६, ११)। समन्त्रिषिकाः (१६, ११)—प्रभृतयः। एवमेव नदीपर्वतनामान्यपि संदृब्धानि तत्र। कस्य ग्रहस्य प्रभावेण के के देशा जनपदा वा प्रभाविताः, वस्तूनि वा प्रभावितानि जायन्त इत्यन्यूनकं चित्रमुपस्थापितम्। ग्रहगतयो युद्धनिर्णायिकाः, स्वामिग्रहस्य कारणेन संवत्सरस्य शुभाशुभं संपद्यते फलम्। इन्द्रध्वजोत्सवस्य कवित्वपूर्णं

वर्णनं द्वाचत्वारिंशदध्याये विलोकनीयम् । वास्तुविद्या-भूगर्भादिविद्या-प्रासाद-प्रतिमा-गवाश्च--पुरुषलक्षणानि (५२-६७) वर्णितानि । स्त्रीप्रशंसाध्यायः (७३) सुभाषितार्थं संग्रहार्हः । यथा—

रत्नानि विभूषयन्ति योषा भूष्यन्ते वनिता न रत्नकान्त्या ।
चेतो वनिता हरन्त्यरत्ना नो रत्नानि विनाङ्गनाङ्गसङ्गम् ॥७३, २॥

ब्राह्मणाः पादतो मेध्या गावो मेध्याश्च पृष्ठतः ।
अजाश्वा मुखतो मेध्याः स्त्रियो मेध्यास्तु सर्वतः ॥७३, ८॥

आब्रह्मकीटान्तमिदं निबद्ध
पुंस्त्रीप्रयोगेण जगत् समस्तम् ।
व्रीडात्र का यत्र चतुर्मुखत्व-
मीशोऽपि लोभाद् गमितो युवत्याः ॥७३, २०॥

यत्राकृतिस्तत्र गुणा वसन्ति ॥६९, २३॥

एतदनन्तरमेकस्मिन् प्रकरणेऽन्तःपुरजीवनवर्णना । तत्र खलु कामसूत्रार्थशास्त्र सादृश्यं दृग्गोचरायते । ततः परं शय्या आस्तरणानि च कथं भवेयुरिति । रत्नानां वर्णनम् (७९-८२) अध्यायेषु । दीपकदन्तधावनवर्णनोत्तरं शाकुनप्रकरणमेकादशाध्यायेषु । विवाहपटलाद्यनन्तरं शास्त्रानुक्रमणीं विरचय्य समापितो ग्रन्थो ग्रन्थकारेण ।

प्रयुक्तानि च्छन्दांसि

बृहत्संहितायामुपयोजितानिच्छन्दांसि षष्टिसंख्याकानि साहित्यनदीष्णानामप्याश्चार्याय कल्पन्ते । भट्टोत्पलेन टीकाकृता व्याख्यातानि तानि ग्रहगोचराध्याये नयनगोचरीभवन्ति । ग्रन्थस्यास्योत्तरार्द्धे छन्दोनामसूची विलोकनीया । विन्ध्यादिवर्णनप्रसंगे गद्यमपि विद्योतते ग्रन्थकृताम् । एवं तावद् गद्यपद्योभयनिबद्धोऽयं ग्रन्थः ।

बृहत्संहिताया भाषा

इह ग्रन्थे प्रयुक्ता संस्कृतभाषा वैलक्षण्यमावहति । शब्दानामर्थविकासः, अन्याभ्यो भाषाभ्यश्च शब्दादानमपि ग्रन्थस्यास्य वैशिष्ट्यम् । पञ्चसिद्धान्तिकायां यत्र संप्रवेशशब्दप्रयोगस्तत्र बृहत्संहितायां संप्रयोगशब्दः (द्र० ३९ पृ०) । द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयेश्लोके आर्याशब्दो मातृवाचकः । संस्कृतभाषायामार्येति शब्दो नास्ति मातृवाचकः । महाभारते (३, १२, ८७) प्राकृतभाषायां च स दृश्यते पूज्यस्त्रीवाचको न तु मातृवाचकः (द्र० पिशलकृतस्य ग्रामातिक देर प्राकृत स्प्रारवेन इत्यभिधस्य ग्रन्थस्य १०६, १४३, १४५ कण्डिकाः) । नाटकेषु श्वश्रूवाचकोऽपि । द्वितीयेध्याये (६६ पृ०) अनूकशब्दः प्राग्जन्मवाचकः। अथर्ववेदे (४, १४, ८, ९, १३, २१) शतपथब्राह्मणे (३, ८, ३, २७) ऐतरेयब्राह्मणे (७, १) चानूकशब्दार्थः सास्ना मूत्रवस्तिर्वा "अनूकं मूत्रवस्तिः स्यात् सास्नेत्येके

वदन्ति च'' इति सायणवचनम् । कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्रे (१६, ७, २२-२४) कशेरुकेति तदर्थः । सुश्रुते "व्याघ्रर्क्षनकुलानूकैः पैत्तिका नराः स्मृताः" इत्यत्रानूकशब्दः शीलार्थकः । अमरकोशे, अभिधानरत्नमालायाम् (५, ४३), वैजयन्त्याम् (२५०, ५), शाश्वतकोशे (६७३) चानूकशब्दः कुलशीलोभयार्थकः । मेदिनीकोश एवैकलः—'अनूकं तु कुले शीले पुंसि स्याद् गतजन्मनि' इत्यभ्यधात् पुंस्यनूकशब्दं गतजन्मार्थकम् । राघवकृतनानार्थमञ्जर्यामप्ययमर्थोऽवाप्यत इत्यापटेमहाशयोऽनवलोकितमेदिनीकोशः । एवं सत्यपि बृहत्संहितागतानूकशब्दो न पुंसि—

"आश्रयभावावलोकननिर्याणगत्यनूकानि" (२ अ०, ४ श्लोकानन्तर गद्यम्) ।

एतदनन्तरवर्तिनि गद्ये 'गणयाग'-शब्दो द्रष्टव्यः । तदर्थस्तु गुह्यकपूजनम् इति । निषेकशब्दार्थो गर्भाधानम् । निष्ठाप्रत्ययान्तस्य निपूर्वकस्य √ सिच् धातोरर्थस्तु प्रक्षेपणात्मकः—

जगति प्रसारितमिवालिखितमिव मतौ निषिक्तमिव हृदये ।।२, ५।। २, ५ श्लोकानन्तरं गद्ये 'मृगचक्रम्' 'श्वचक्रम्' इत्यादिशब्दगतचक्रपदार्थश्चेष्टितमिति । वातचक्रम् इत्यत्र चक्रशब्दार्थोलक्षणम् इति । अत्रैव नीराजनशब्दः । तदर्थस्तु-नीरेण जलेन मन्त्रपूतेनाजनम् = क्षेपणं स्पर्शनमिति । पुष्यस्नानार्थे घृतकम्बलशब्दः । नृपमुकुटार्थे पट्टशब्दः—पट्टपरीक्षा.......।

'चारोदयाः प्रशस्ताः' (६, १२) इत्यत्र चारशब्दार्थोऽवस्थितिरिति । ग्रन्थकारेण सन्नन्तप्रयोगः विभक्षयिषु-(१९, १) इति । यङन्त प्रयोगाः पेपीयते, जेगीयते, बोभुज्यत इति । यङ्लुक्प्रयोगश्च-नरिनर्ति (१३, २) इति । तद्धितान्तप्रयोगाणां तु भूयस्त्वम् ।

सत्यपि भाषाप्रयोगनैपुण्ये वराहमिहिरेण पादपूर्त्यर्थमङ्गीकृताः कतिचन शब्दाः । अथ-शब्दः स्वार्थे (४, २४।८, १९।१०, ११), अथ शब्दः पादपूरणे (४, २५।५, ७४।८, २६) ।

इह होराजामित्रत्रिकोणकेन्द्रादयो ग्रीकभाषायाः शब्दाः सुस्पष्टम् । एतेषां संस्कृतीकरणप्रयत्नो रोचकः । होरा-पणफर-आपोक्लिम-हिबुक-त्रिकोण-जामित्र-मेषूरण-क्रिय-तावुरि-जितुम-लेय-पाथोन-जुक-कौर्प्य-तौक्षिक-आकोकेरो - हृद्रोगेत्थसि-प्रभृतिशब्दाः सन्ति । क्रान्तिवृत्तम् = (राशिचक्रम्) इत्यादयः शब्दा अनुवादमूलकाः । बृहत्संहितायां तु पञ्चषा एव ते शब्दा गृहीताःबृहज्जातके तु प्रायः सर्वे प्रयुक्ताः ।

संक्षेपतो वराहमिहिरज्ञानस्यानन्त्यविषये नास्ति द्वापरत्वम् । तट्टीकाकारो भट्टोत्पलमहाभागोऽप्यसामर्थ्यं व्यक्तीकरोति बृहत्संहितागतविषयवस्तुतत्त्वव्याख्याने "केवलमक्षराणां व्याख्या क्रियते न चास्माकं तथाविधं प्रावीण्यम्" (७६, ४) इति ।

विवृतिटीकाकारो भट्टोत्पलः

सुप्रसिद्धोऽयं टीकाकारः काश्मीराभिजनः । खण्डखाद्यटीकाकारेण वरुणेन तु सुस्पष्टमेतस्य काश्मीरीयता साधिता । खण्डखाद्यटीकया स्पष्ट्युत्तरपञ्चदशशतशाकीयेन

पञ्चाङ्गकौतुकेन च ज्ञायते यदासीत् भट्टोत्पलस्य टीका लब्धप्रचारा काश्मीरेषु । बृहज्जातकटीकायां ८८८ मिते प्रणीतायामनेन तत्प्रणयनकालः ८८८ मितः शाको दर्शितः—

चैत्रमासस्य पञ्चम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे ।
वस्वष्टाष्ट ८८८ मिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया ॥

बृहत्संहिताटीकाकालोऽपीत्थमेव लिखितस्तेन—

फाल्गुनस्य द्वितीयायामसितस्य गुरोर्दिने ।
वस्वष्टाष्टमिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया ॥

अनेन वराहमिहिरस्य यात्राबृहज्जातकलघुजातकबृहत्संहितेति ग्रन्थेषु टीकिता टोका । बृहत्संहितान्ते स्वकीयटोकागौरवं तेन स्वयं वर्णितम्—

आचार्यप्रवरस्य बोधजलधेः पारं तितीर्षुर्जनो
व्यामुह्यन्नभिधेयरत्ननिचयैः काङ्क्षस्तरीं भ्राम्यति ।
इत्येवंविधमाकलय्य करुणामालम्ब्य भट्टोत्पल-
श्चक्रे तत्कृतिसंहिताविवरणं स्थैर्यं प्लवं कीर्तये ॥

वस्तुतः सपुरातनेकाले संहिताशाखाविविधविषयज्ञानं भारते वर्षे कियदभूत ? तज्ज्ञानसंवर्धनं च क्रमशः केन प्रकारेण जातम् ? इत्याद्यैतिह्यबोधनार्थं बृहत्संहिताया उत्पलटीकाऽनन्योपायः । भट्टोत्पलः प्राचीनग्रन्थशोधकस्तद्वाचनं च सुविस्तृतमिति ज्ञायते तट्टीकया बृहत्संहितायाः । वराहमिहिरलिखिता विषया आधिक्यतः प्राचीनग्रन्थेभ्य गृहीता इति तत्र टीकायां दर्शितं पदे पदे तेन । क्वचित् क्वचिच्च तेन तद्ग्रन्थनामान्यपि समुट्टङ्कितानि । प्रसङ्गतश्च प्रायः सर्वत्र तत्तद्विषयकप्राचीनसंहिताकृतामुद्धृतानि वचनानि । क्वचित्त्वेकस्मिन्नेव विषयेऽष्टाधिकप्राचीनसंहिताकृतं वचनोल्लेखः । सर्वास्ताः संहितास्तदा सुलभा अभूवन्निति सुस्पष्टं विज्ञायते भट्टोत्पलटीकायां तदुद्धरणैः । महामतिना तेन संहिताजातकयोस्तदन्तभेदविषये चानेकपौरुषग्रन्थकारनामानि । तद्वचनानि च सादरं गृहीतानि टीकायाम् ।

भट्टोत्पलकृता मौलिका ग्रन्थाः

भट्टोत्पलेन ब्रह्मगुप्तकृतखण्डखाद्यटीकापि कृतेति ज्ञायते बृहत्संहिताटीकावचनेन—"खण्डखाद्यकरणेऽस्मदीयवचनम्" इत्यनेन । वराहमिहिरपुत्रस्य पृथुयशसः 'षट्पञ्चाशिका' इति जातकग्रन्थेऽपि लिखिता टीका भट्टोत्पलेन । तस्या एका प्रतिः पूनाकालेजसंग्रहे (सं० ३५५, सन् १८८२-८३) विद्यते । यात्राग्रन्थटीकानोपलभ्यते संप्रति । खण्डखाद्यटीका भूर्जपत्रलिखितैतदीया काश्मीरेषूपलब्धा साम्प्रतं डेक्कनकालेजसंग्रहे विद्यते ।

अनेन महाभागेन टीकातिरिक्ताः स्वतन्त्रा ग्रन्था अपि लिखिता इति प्रथमाध्याये 'अस्मदीय वचनम्' इत्युक्त्वार्यानिर्देशेन ज्ञायते। गणितस्कन्धमधिकृत्य स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थरचनाऽनुमीयते। खण्डखाद्यटीकागतमपि शक्नोति भवितुमुक्तवचनम्। द्विसप्तत्यार्यामितः प्रश्नज्ञाननामकः प्रश्नग्रन्थ एतदीयः। अलबेरुनीमहाशयमतानुसारेण 'राहुन्नाकरणम्' इति 'करणपातः' चेति करणग्रन्थद्वयमप्येतदीयम्। बृहन्मानसग्रन्थटीकाटीकिताऽनेन। एकेनैव ग्रन्थकारेण रचितस्य करणद्वयस्यासंभवः। उक्तग्रन्थद्वयस्याभिधेयमपि वैचित्र्यमावहतीतीह बेरुनीमहाशयस्य स्यात् कोऽपि भ्रमः। भट्टोत्पलविरचितः 'श्रूधव' इत्यभिधोऽयेको ग्रन्थ इति तन्मतम्। इहापि नाम्नि विद्यते काचित् त्रुटिः। तेनास्य ग्रन्थस्य कालादिमानविषये लिखितम्। श्रूधवेत्यभिधाः सन्त्यन्येऽपि ग्रन्था इति तद्व्याहारः। दत्तेन श्रूधवविषयकेण मनाक् परिचयेन ज्ञायते यद् शकुनसंबद्धौ प्रश्नसंबद्धौ वा भवेतां तौ ग्रन्थाविति। भट्टोत्पलकृतो वास्तुविद्याग्रन्थोऽपीत्यवगम्यते तट्टीकया बृहत्संहितायाः— "तथा चास्मदीयवास्तुविद्यायाम्" (५२, ५७) इति।

भट्टोत्पलीया देशभाषा

बृहत्संहितायाष्टीकायां भट्टोत्पलविरचितायां देशभाषीयाः सन्ति प्रयुक्ताः केचन शब्दाः। तेषामध्ययनेन भट्टोत्पलस्य जनिभूः पार्यते निश्चेतुम्। प्रस्तूयन्ते तथाविधा इह कतिचन शब्दाः—

१. जानुकपिच्छे चतुरङ्गुले च चतुरङ्गुलप्रमाणे कार्ये ये च लोके 'एक्कलके' इति प्रसिद्धे (५७, १७)।
२. मृदङ्गो वादित्रो मण्डलेति प्रसिद्धः (६७, ९५)।
३. क्ष्वेडः सुखशब्दः शोडनिकेति प्रसिद्धा (८५, ३९)।
४. भृङ्गारवद् विरुवति वाशति। भृङ्गारो दांदानी दमनी (८७, ६) इति।

भृङ्गारोभृङ्गारी वा झिल्लिकेति मे मतम्, वराहमिहिरेणापि 'निशि द्वयंगुलशरीरा' इति स्वीकृतत्वात्।

इत्थं बृहत् संहितायाः क्रियमाणोऽयं विमर्शो नानाविषय परिज्ञानोपयोगी विलक्षण विचित्र प्राचीन पदार्थानुशीलन प्रवीणो जिज्ञासूनां विद्वद्धौरेयाणां ध्यानमवश्यमेव स्वस्मिन् दीयमानमपेक्षते इति विरमति विशेषपल्लवनात्।

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SECTION IX

COMMENTS AND CORRECTIONS

VOPADEVA AND HEMĀDRI ON BHAKTĪ-RASA

By V. Raghavan*

I have read the note of Dr. K. Krishnamurti on *Vopadeva and Hemādri on Bhakti-rasa* in the last issue of the *J. G. Jha Research Institute* XXV, Jan.–Oct. 1969, parts 1–4, pp. 404–9; the actual matter bearing on the subject proper here is just two pages. It has recently become a regular practice of the writer of the above mentioned note to begin his articles with some negative remarks about the modern Alaṁkara trinity–Kane, De and myself. This may be a useful way of enhancing the value of one's own contribution–only when these remarks are based on a proper or full study of the concerned works and there is any substance in such remarks. In the present note he says that in my work on *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa,* I make just a passing reference to Hemādri. This is no passing reference but reference enough and relevant to the subject-matter on hand in that work of mine.

On the other hand, Dr. Krishnamurti must have read my book *The Number of Rasas* to see that I have dealt with Bopadeva and Hemādri on Bhakti-rasa etc., adequately in that book where it is quite relevant to deal with these two authors and the subject touched upon by Dr. Krishnamurti in his note. Pp. 133, 142-3, 169, 2nd edition of *The Number of Rasas* may be seen. The importance of Bopadeva's contribution and the same *vis-a-vis* the Caitanyaism of Bengal–all this I have duly mentioned there. My *Spiritual Heritage of Tyagaraja* may also be seen (pp. 184. 2nd edn. R. K. Math, Madras 4) where again I have highlighted the contribution of Bopadeva and Hemādri and the indebtedness of the Caitanya rhetoricians of Bhakti-rasa to these two authors.

* Retired Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Department, Madras University, Madras.

ERRATA

On pages 17–19 read महाभागा: etc. for महाभाग: etc.

On pages 527–530 read Pāli for Pālī.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION INTO ROMAN

अ	a	ं	ṁ	ड्	ḍ	र्	r
आ	ā	ः	ḥ	ढ्	ḍh	ल्	l
इ	i	क्	k	ण्	ṇ	व्	v
ई	ī	ख्	kh	त्	t	श्	ś
उ	u	ग्	g	थ्	th	ष्	ṣ
ऊ	ū	घ्	gh	द्	d	स्	s
ऋ	ṛ	ङ्	ṅ	ध्	dh	ह्	h
ॠ	ṝ	च्	c	न्	n	क्ष्	kṣ
ऌ	l̥	छ्	ch	प्	p	त्र्	tr
ॡ	l̥̄	ज्	j	फ्	ph	ज्ञ्	jñ
ए	e	झ्	jh	ब्	b	ळ्	ḻ
ऐ	ai	ञ	ñ	भ्	bh	ँ	ँ
ओ	o	ट्	ṭ	म्	m		
औ	au	ठ्	ṭh	य्	y		

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